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Vol. VII, No. 2
June, 1928

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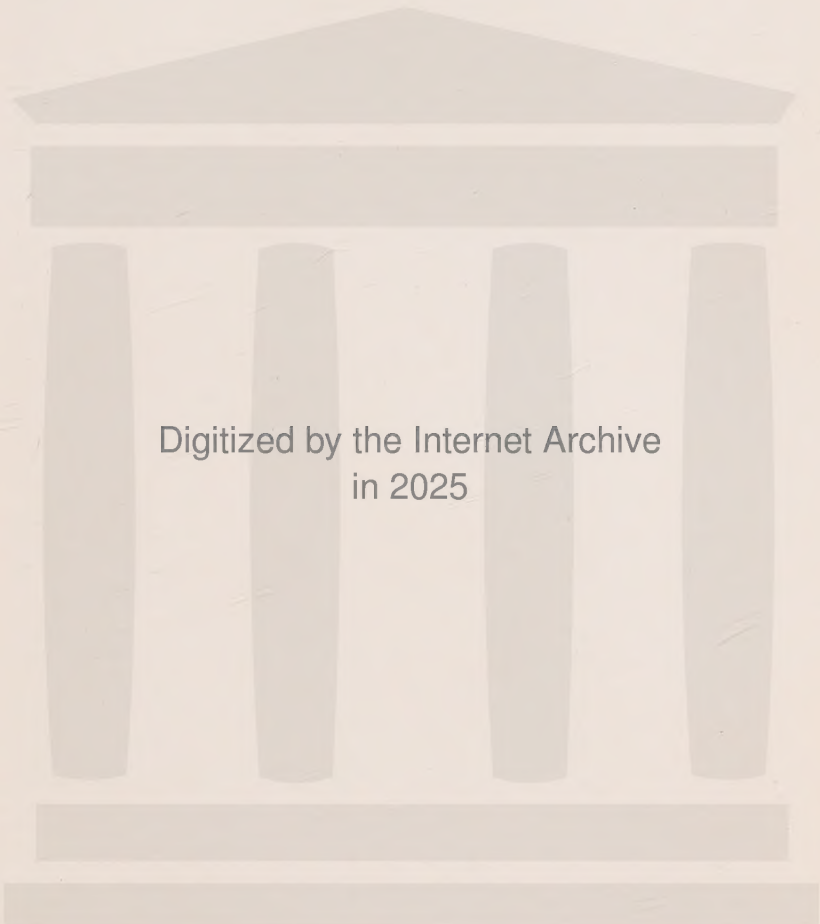
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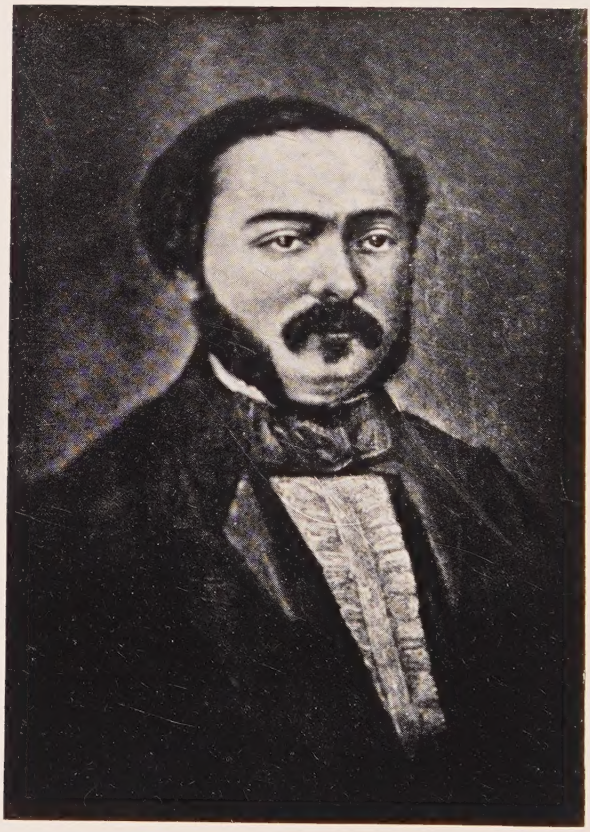

William Alexander Leidesdorff

VOL. VII, No. 2 JUNE, 1928

Quarterly of the
California Historical Society

THE LEIDESDORFF-FOLSOM ESTATE

A Forgotten Chapter in the Romantic History of Early San Francisco

LEIDESDORFF—Any persons having knowledge of a will left by the late William Alex. Leidesdorff, who died in 1848, will find it greatly to their interest to write to Mrs. W. Cochran Heron, 1052 Camp St., New Orleans.

This simple notice appeared in the "agony column" of a San Francisco morning paper, August 5, 1902. Thousands of readers overlooked or passed it by without further thought, but to a few who were familiar with the early history of San Francisco there was recalled one of the most famous cases in the annals of California litigation, and justly a *cause celèbre*. At that time, a quarter-century ago, there were yet some people who still remembered Leidesdorff, and a few of them had known him in his lifetime, but they were not many and their days were fully numbered.

William Alexander Leidesdorff was born in 1810, being a native of the Danish West Indies, probably of St. Croix, where his people had resided for many years. His father, Alexander Leidesdorff, was a Dane who had come to the United States when a boy, having lived in New Orleans and elsewhere before taking up residence in St. Croix. The father's death occurred in 1839. Of his mother's nationality there is some doubt, but she was generally believed to be a Creole and in her earlier life had lived in Havana and New Orleans.

William Alexander Leidesdorff came to California in 1841 as master of the *Julia Ann,* and in the succeeding two or three years he made frequent trips between San Francisco and Honolulu, being engaged in trading. At that time the principal exports of California were hides and tallow and from the proceeds of these ventures he accumulated enough money to purchase in 1843 a lot in San Francisco at the corner of Clay and Kearny streets. In 1844 he built a warehouse at California and Leidesdorff streets (which latter still bears his name) and began a general exporting business. In this same year he became a naturalized Mexican citizen and as such, received a grant of land. This was a large piece of property, being eight Spanish leagues of which the relative area was 35,000 acres. This was known as the "Rancho Rio de los Americanos."

At this time Leidesdorff Street was the water-front of Yerba Buena, and the warehouse stood on the beach. In 1846, on his Kearny Street lot he built the City Hotel, which besides being well known was also the most pretentious hostelry in the young city. It was destroyed in 1851 by one of the great fires

of those early days. In 1847 he purchased from Robert T. Ridley the cottage at the corner of California and Montgomery streets, which in the contemporary prints of San Francisco is a most prominent landmark. He became owner of many city lots which after the discovery of gold became of immense value.

Leidesdorff was one of the most prominent men in California. According to Hubert Howe Bancroft he was intelligent, fairly well educated, speaking several languages, enterprising, public-spirited and honorable, but somewhat obscured by quick temper, jealousy and a tendency to quarrel. He launched the first steamer that ever sailed on San Francisco Bay. This vessel bore no name but was afterward known as the *Sitka*. It was not an imposing craft nor can its description be better given than by Mr. Bancroft:

> Her dimensions were: length 37 feet, breadth of beam 9 feet, depth of hold 3½ feet, drawing 18 inches of water, and having side wheels moved by a miniature engine. She was built at Sitka by an American as a pleasure-boat for the officers of the Russian company, and was purchased by Leidesdorff, being brought down to San Francisco in October, 1847, on the *Naslednik*. Having made a trial trip on November 15th, she ventured later to Santa Clara and then to Sonoma. Finally, on the 28th of November, she started on the great voyage of her career to Sacramento, carrying ten or a dozen souls, including the owner, George McKinstry, L. W. Hastings as far as Montezuma, and Mrs. Gregson and baby — the latter serving a useful purpose in "trimming" the little craft. The trip was made in six days and seven hours, one of her passengers saving the odd hours by leaving the steamer and walking. Returning to Yerba Buena, she was wrecked at her anchorage in a gale; but was raised, hauled inland by oxen, and transformed into a launch or schooner. As the *Rainbow* she ran on Sacramento River after the discovery of gold.

The enterprise and activity of Leidesdorff carried him in many directions. He was of patriotic principles and very strongly American. These qualities were fully recognized by United States Consul Thomas Oliver Larkin, who in October, 1845, appointed him vice-consul. In this position he acted ably and creditably. In local politics he was prominent as a member of the town council and school board, and also as the treasurer of the city of San Francisco. He died May 18, 1848, and was interred with much ceremony in the Mission Dolores in San Francisco. He had been unmarried and the estate that he left was the largest in California at that time.

No will being found, his estate passed into the hands of the public administrator, William Davis Merry Howard, who was appointed to that office by Alcalde Thaddeus M. Leavenworth. Howard, assisted by C. V. Gillespie, retained his position as administrator for about a year, when dissatisfaction arose among some of the interested parties and a petition for removal was brought by one P. Barry, an attorney for the absent heirs. No criminal charges were preferred, as Howard was a man of sound integrity, but it was represented that he had acted in a manner not conducive to the best interests of the estate. He had, as the petitioner stated, overstepped his authority by the sale of various pieces of property, the giving of injudicious leases, etc., so accordingly he was removed by the same alcalde who a year before had appointed him.

In 1849, after the removal of Howard, three clerks were employed to appraise, prepare and file documents concerning the affairs and condition of the estate. The remuneration of each was the modest sum of $50.00 per day, and $4050.00 was paid upon this work alone. There were also fiscal expenses,

taxes, fees, other claims and the like, and as Leidesdorff himself had left an indebtedness of $40,000.00, it will be apparent that in 1849, the estate was heavily encumbered.

JOSEPH L. FOLSOM.

About this time there came upon the scene one Joseph Libby Folsom, captain, U. S. A. Folsom was born in New Hampshire in 1817, was graduated from West Point in 1840, and for some time afterward was an instructor in that same academy. He came to California in 1847 with the famous Stevenson regiment, of which he was a staff-officer. After the close of the Mexican War he remained in San Francisco and served as assistant officer in the quartermaster department, and during 1848-49 he was for a time collector of port. Folsom was an enterprising man of business, superior education, and in character was both honorable and refined, but somewhat haughty and formal in his personal attitude towards others. Like many other high-spirited gentlemen of that picturesque period, Folsom had fought a duel with A. C. Russell, a San Francisco journalist. Two shots were exchanged without harming either principals or other interested parties, and a peaceful settlement of difficulties followed.

Folsom was one of the first to foresee the possibilities of the future of San Francisco after the discovery of gold and he had already purchased several town lots. Early in 1849 his attention was directed to the Leidesdorff estate, after which his name became inseparably connected with it. At this time the affairs of the estate were in a very doubtful condition, and there was promise of vast legal complication. The laws of the United States obtained; Mexican land laws were in vogue; the heirs to the vacant succession lived in the Danish West

Indies subject to the laws of Denmark — truly a legal tangle. Leidesdorff had left neither wife nor children, but his mother and other members of his family survived him. They were adjudged to be the legal heirs, although there was every prospect of the estate being escheated to California, as under some existing laws an alien could not inherit. In spite of all of these difficulties, Captain Folsom prepared to take chances. In June, 1849, he left San Francisco to hunt up the absent heirs and from them to purchase the title to the estate.

He first went to New York, where the mercantile firm of Reed, Suydam & Co. became bondsmen, and from thence he went direct to the Danish West Indies. On the island of St. Croix (or Santa Cruz as it is styled in some of the legal documents) lived the Leidesdorff family. Leidesdorff's father had been dead for some years, but his mother still lived with five children who were William's brothers and sisters. Anna Maria Spark, as Leidesdorff's mother was known, had never been married but was granted an act conformably with the laws of Denmark that made the children legitimate. She was not a mulatto as some have stated, although there were traces of both black and Carib blood, but Caucasian largely predominated. On arriving at St. Croix, Folsom at once presented his claims and negotiations were opened. He was invested with proper credentials and had been empowered to act by the governor of the island. For further security he had carried with him a daguerreotype of Leidesdorff which was at once identified by the mother as that of her son William Alexander. The result of the negotiations was satisfactory to Folsom and apparently also to the heirs. Pending the final adjudication by the court, Anna Maria Spark believed herself heir to one-half of the estate and her children heirs to the remainder.

All right and title to the estate was purchased by Folsom for $75,000.00. The agreement was ratified on November 13, 1849, when the primary deposit of $5000.00 was made. The other payments were provided for by two notes of $35,000.00 each, the first being payable November 13, 1850, and the second on March 13, 1851.

The preliminary payment was made and accepted without any difficulty, but when the first note arrived at maturity Anna Maria refused to accept payment. In the meantime, certain disgruntled speculators from California had visited her and after giving her some large accounts of the enormous value of the estate, they had persuaded her not to throw it away while there was yet time to reconsider. In this too, she was sustained by one Hauser, Secretary of St. Croix. Folsom brought suit to compel her to accept the final payment. The case was bitterly contested. Folsom's attorneys were Halleck, Peachy and Billings, one of the greatest law-firms that ever practiced in this or any other state. The suit was for specific performance and Folsom's points were strong. His deposition sets forth:

That at the time of purchase the Leidesdorff estate was clouded with debts; that the land titles were doubtful; that expensive litigation had already been carried on; that the losses by the early fires of San Francisco had been great

and severe; and furthermore, that at the time of purchase the value of land in San Francisco was problematical — all of which was true. On the other hand, Anna Maria Spark made the claim that the consideration paid by Folsom was less than one-half the actual value when he made the purchase, and which according to Mexican law rendered the agreement null and void. For a time the outlook of the case appeared very doubtful, but after a long and savage contest it was decided in favor of Folsom and thereafter Anna Maria Spark ceased to be a factor in the subsequent affairs of the Leidesdorff estate.[1]

At the termination of the suit with Anna Maria Spark, Joseph Libby Folsom was perhaps the wealthiest man in California. But great wealth is often acquired at a ruinous cost, and therein Folsom was not exempt. There were continuous distractions both of mind and body. Squatters were dispossessed, speculators were fought, clouded land-titles were quieted, and evil and jealous enemies were silenced.

About this time the value of the property began to increase enormously. In 1852, the tax appraisement was $346,800.00, and the amount paid thereon was $8071.00. Some indication of the increase in value may be seen in the fact that in the auction sale of January, 1856, one piece of property at the corner of Bush and Battery streets realized $6050.00. It had originally been purchased as a water and beach lot for $300.00.

Folsom had been extraordinarily fortunate in acquiring an estate so vast for a sum so small, but he had to contest legally for the possession of nearly every individual piece of property belonging to the estate. The suit for the ownership of Leidesdorff's rancho, Rio de los Americanos, where the town of Folsom now stands, was before the courts for nearly ten years alone, involving vast expense, time, and labor in its tedious details, and it was not until many years after Folsom's death that it was finally decided.

The expenses of carrying on the affairs of the estate were great. For the purpose of sustaining litigation Folsom had been forced to raise large sums of money by borrowing. Legal complications involved nearly every piece of property, and while suits were pending sales could not be finally negotiated. He obtained money upon notes of from thirty to ninety days' duration. These notes were for amounts from $5000.00 to $30,000.00, and the rate of interest upon each, while occasionally 2½%, was generally 3% per month.

The native ability and clear foresight of Folsom had brought him great rewards and he had become the wealthiest man in California. But if the financial expenditure had been great, the physical cost had been infinitely

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[1] *See,* in this connection, the decision of Chief Justice C. J. Murray of the California Supreme Court in the case of *People ex rel. Attorney-General vs. Joseph L. Folsom,* 5 Cal. Repts. 373 (1855), in which it is declared that "this case has excited more public attention than any that has heretofore been presented to this Court, both on account of the amount and the principles involved. Its discussion has evinced a research and ability highly complimentary to the counsel engaged, without which it would have been almost impossible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion."

The decision was that Anna Maria Spark became vested with absolute title to the Leidesdorff property which could not be disturbed. This title therefore legally passed to Folsom.

greater, and poor Folsom paid the price. He did not live for long to enjoy the benefits of his labors. Endless litigation, unceasing activity, hostile opposition, constant and unrelieved cares and worriment had brought him low. He died at Mission San José July 19, 1855, at the early age of 38 years. Foremost in many affairs, he had been an executive head of the Vigilance Committee of 1851, and was at the time of his death president of the Sacramento Valley Railroad Company.

After the passing of Folsom the affairs of the estate were carried on by Messrs. Halleck, Peachy and Billings, who for five years had been his attorneys. In its time this eminent firm was one of the greatest in the United States, and even at the present day there are but few law-firms whose affairs are more extensive.

Folsom's will was filed July 25, 1855, and on August 6 of the same year it was admitted to probate. Henry Wager Halleck, Archibald C. Peachy, and P. Warren Van Winkle were the executors and their bonds were fixed at $250,000.00 each. To his mother, Mrs. Mary Gilman of New Hampshire, Folsom bequeathed an annunity of $5000.00, and all of his personal property was left in equal shares to his mother and sister, Sally T. Forrest. After satisfying said annuity, the deceased had devised all of his real estate, two-thirds to his sister, and one-third to his nephew, Gustavus Decatur Folsom.

Following the probate proceedings great public auction sales were arranged. That portion of the Leidesdorff-Folsom estate which was sold on January 10 and 11, 1856, is officially described as "parts of the estate," being 309 lots in the city of San Francisco which produced $607,695.00. At a later sale Leidesdorff's "Rancho de los Americanos" brought $163,360.00. Many other pieces were sold through private negotiations. When the last parcel of property was sold and the affairs of the estate were closed, the records show that it had produced $1,442,232.35. In 1851, as stated, Folsom had paid to Anna Maria Spark the sum of $75,000.00, therefore the value accordingly had increased twenty-fold. It is true that the estate left by Leidesdorff had been augmented by Folsom, but the original estate had been a most substantial foundation.

It was not until 1863 that the last claim was paid and the last suit ended. At the outbreak of the Civil War the great firm of Halleck, Peachy and Billings was dissolved. Halleck entered the war to become for a brief time commander-in-chief of the Union army. Peachy and Billings remained in San Francisco for a few years longer, then the former went to Washington and the latter to Montana and Northern Pacific Railroad fame. Halleck and Billings became millionaires and left large estates. Peachy, less provident, left no large estate, but — as became a true Southern gentleman — he had lived. During the years 1856-1877, the late Col. George W. Granniss was manager of the estate and knew more concerning its affairs than any of the others who were connected with it. In lifetime he was one of the best-known and most widely-liked men in San Francisco. Of the numerous principals he was the last to

San Francisco, 3rd March 1854.

Eight months after date, I promise to pay to the order of Samuel Moss Junior, the sum of Seventy five Thousand Dollars, value received, with Interest until paid, at the rate of Three per Cent per month, payable monthly, at the Counting Room of Messrs Hooke, Bayerque & C°, according to an Indenture of Mortgage of even date herewith executed by me.

$25.000=

Promissory Note of Joseph L. Folsom
(Note rate of interest)

The Old Montgomery Block

survive. His death occurred in 1901, and by many of the older members of the community he is still remembered with esteem and affection.

The sole existing reminder of this celebrated case is the old Montgomery Block, which still stands at the corner of Montgomery and Washington streets, having escaped destruction in the fire of 1906. It is the most historic building in San Francisco. It was built by Halleck and opened in 1853, and many of the most prominent men of San Francisco were among its tenants. Halleck, Peachy and Billings occupied a large suite on the second floor, and for thirty-eight consecutive years one of these rooms was the office of Col. Granniss. For nearly thirty years part of the Sutro library was housed in this building, and on the ground floor from 1853 to 1919 was the famous and widely-known "Bank Exchange." At the death of Halleck in 1871, the property passed to his widow, Elizabeth, who later married Gen. Cullum. In 1894, acting for Mrs. Cullum, Col. Granniss sold the Montgomery Block to an Italian syndicate which constitutes its present ownership.

In the careers of Leidesdorff and Folsom there had been much in common and the endowments of nature were generous. Both men were ambitious, venturesome, clear in vision, wide in mental perspective, firm in their convictions, and capable in their many undertakings. Both had an unbounded faith in the future greatness of the beloved city wherein they had lived and toiled and died. The finer attributes of generosity, candor, honor and integrity had also been shared equally. They had earned the good-will and esteem of their fellow-creatures, and when they passed into memory that legacy outlived the estates which were left behind and speedily dissolved. It was oddly coincident that both men died at the early age of thirty-eight years. Again, both had been taken in the full flush of achievement and in the heyday of success, exemplifying the saddest lines of the blind Poet:

> But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,
> And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
> Comes the blind Fury with the abhorrèd shears
> And slits the thin-spun life.

All of the characters involved in this famous case are long since gone and those who might remember them have also traveled on. It is almost the allotted span of life since the last hearing took place in court, and the last parcel of land came upon the auction-block. No longer a memory even to the oldest of the population of San Francisco, its history is preserved only in certain musty and forgotten records.[2]

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

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[2] Many of the documents concerning the Leidesdorff-Folsom estate were acquired some years ago by C. Templeton Crocker and form an important portion of his remarkable collection of Californiana; some have also recently been given to the California Historical Society by Henry R. Wagner; and many more are still in the possession of the writer.

REMINISCENCES OF LIFE IN TERRITORIAL NEVADA

[Note: The following interesting account of pioneering east of the Sierra was written in 1913. The manuscript has reposed in the archives of the Nevada Historical Society, and recently it was made available to the Yosemite Museum. Because of the present interest in the history of the Mono country, it seems especially desirable to make available the many unrecorded facts dwelt upon by Mr. Colcord. In 1893 Mr. Colcord was governor of Nevada. He is now eighty-eight years old. The appended bibliography includes work done since this paper was written in 1913.—CARL P. RUSSELL.]

As a boy of seventeen in California I began chasing gold excitements in many parts of that state. When the big rush to Fraser River started in 1858, I made my way north but met so many discouraged men returning that I turned back. In the spring of 1859, in company with Ab Black, Bill Stevens, and George Smart, I crossed the Sierra Nevada by the old Emigrant trail from Columbia, Tuolumne County, in search of more gold at Monoville or Mono Diggings, as it was then called.

It is difficult to give a very good idea of the location of Mono Diggings, for the reason that no well-known objects were within reach from which to base a description. Now, however, the town of Bodie, sixteen miles north, and Mono Lake, four miles east, are not only well-known, but rather famous, in a way. Mark Twain's *Roughing It* (a book which everybody has read with pleasure) gives a good and true description of many places and incidents which occurred during his stay there. For instance, he tells us that the waters of that lake will take the hair off a dog, which I am quite willing to believe, though the dog must stay in it some time. Really, though, it is quite as strong as a whiskey cocktail in a country hotel. The last time I took a swim in that lake a few years ago, I took an unintentional drink of some of it through the nose, and every time I think of it now it gives me an inclination to sneeze. I am of the opinion that it might be a good investment to establish bottling works there and put that stuff on the market as a catarrh cure.

Seriously, though, Mono Lake has not received the attention it deserves from the few magazine men who have written it up after camping there a day or two. It is situated in a little valley or basin at the base of, and on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada and held in place by low, detached hills of volcanic ash, lava and obsidian. It is about fifty miles in circumference, one mile above sea level, with a number of streams flowing into it but with no outlet. It can discount the English Channel in getting up a chop of a sea. A few years ago, Mr. James Ney, who kept a station on the lake, together with three companions, all expert boatmen and swimmers, while crossing the lake in a sailboat were caught in a squall and were drowned. On another occasion the little steam tug used for towing lumber encountered a tornado and was driven so far inland that she has not come back yet.

The waters of the lake are not inhabited by anything that lives or breathes. On its surface, however, there exist millions of insects which may be described as winged worms. Their origin was unknown, but they are about the same color and just as useful as a rusty nail. These worms, flies, or bugs as they

might be classified, settle on the surface of the water, die and are blown ashore and piled up on the beach in windrows for miles around. They are of an oily nature and must be very nutritious as thousands of ducks swarm there every season and become hog-fat in a very short time. Those of us who have had experience do not hunt this game. Occasionally a stranger or tenderfoot drops down there and fills his bag, but when he gets home and the cook starts the fire on him (the duck, not the tenderfoot) trouble begins. After these birds have feasted on that kind of food for a couple of weeks, the aroma arising from them while being roasted is not that of a camomile bed. I have tried them so I know.

The waters of the lake are so strongly alkaline that they are very buoyant. If I were to attempt to give a chemical analysis you would say "lie," which would be partly true though incorrectly spelled. The water preserves wood in such a way that many railroad ties were rafted across the Lake and allowed to remain in the water a month or two, and are still in use though the road was built in 1882. It is a delightful place to swim providing one has no abrasions on the body, keeps his mouth shut while in and takes a bath on coming out.

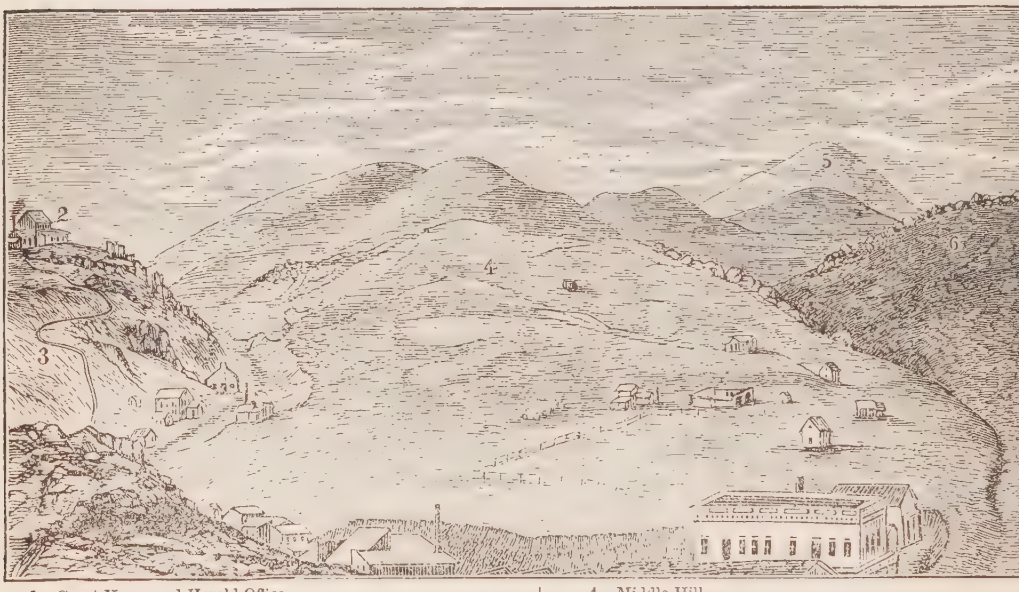
The reader may have difficulty in connecting the above with the story I started out on, but that is his stunt, not mine and does not worry me. Now that I have attempted to do justice to the "Little Dead Sea" in the high desert I will go back to my tale.

About seventy men had preceded us, and I doubt if any one knew or cared whether we were in California, Utah or Nevada. So far as we were aware there were no other inhabitants within a hundred miles in any direction. All had crossed the mountains from Sonora, Columbia, and vicinity. Two or three among the crowd I had known slightly in California: Sol Carter who was running a pack train over the old Sonora trail, Ex-Senator W. W. Williams, now a wealthy stockman of Churchill County, and Teddy Brodigan, father of our present Secretary of State. I found Mr. Brodigan a genial, jolly Irishman of the old school and retained his friendship for more than forty years. Another, Frank Shaw, who was known as a gentleman gambler in Columbia, had the only sizeable tent where he was dealing monte, taking bets in gold dust, as there was but little coin in camp. Later, Shaw became a wealthy cattleman and for a number of years was county commissioner of Inyo County, California. He was an excellent citizen and a thoroughly honorable man.

At that time no one knew where the boundary line was which separated Nevada Territory from California. I found little encouragement to prospect for gold in the district as there was scarcely water enough for rockers after September, though a few men made money sluicing earlier in the season. Nearly the entire outfit left the country before the storms commenced and returned to the western slope, crossing the Big Meadows near where the town of Bridgeport now stands.

The following summer the mines at Aurora were discovered by J. M. Corey, James M. Braly, and a man named Hicks. Mt. Corey near the town of Haw-

thorne, and Mt. Braly, south of Aurora, were named for the two former pioneers. These men made the first mining locations in that district. The first location was made on the high outcrop at the base of Mt. Braly and was named the Montauk, since known as the Old Esmeralda. The first man to discover gold in the Bodie district was W. S. Body, for whom the town was named, though the spelling was changed. This man Body, if my memory serves me rightly was a camp fellow of Brodigan's at Mono during my stay there. Body worked some placer ground at the base of Silver Hill and late in the fall of '59 located the first quartz claim in that famous district which is twelve miles south of Aurora. In the early spring of the following year he was caught



1. Court House and Herald Office.
2. New Real del Monte Hoisting Works.
3. Last Chance Hill.
4. Middle Hill.
5. Mt. Hicks.
6. Silver Hill.

Early Cut of Aurora from Wasson, *Bodie and Esmeralda,* San Francisco: 1878

in a Bodie blizzard in Cottonwood Cañon, lost his bearings and perished in the snow. His remains were found a few months later and given a Christian burial by the miners, who by that time were quite numerous in the camp.

My next venture in these regions, after taking in Washoe City, Galena, Carson and Virginia City, was Aurora. This town enjoyed its greatest boom in the early spring and summer of 1863. Men swarmed there from all quarters by stage, fast freight, horseback and on foot. My first night's slumber was in a corral, and the next few nights I hit the straw in a quartz mill. It was a wide open town and everybody was happy with the possible exception of those who were sticklers for a more generous supply of law and order. One of the two newspapers published there claimed a population of ten thousand, but about half that number would, in my judgment, be nearer the mark. Last

Chance Hill was the bonanza, and the Real Del Monte and the Wide West were the big producers, both yielding enormously rich ore, though one hundred feet in depth was the limit of milling ore. Nothing of value at greater depth has since been found in that hill, though the main shaft is down nearly nine hundred feet. This is not true of other localities in that district, as the Humboldt, Middle Hill and Silver Hill have all been good producers at considerable depth. The limit of quartz mills was reached that year, fifteen or sixteen in all, with approximately about two hundred stamps. The average recovery of bullion was about 80% and no tailings were saved. Big fortunes went down the cañon into Walker River. It would have been impossible then, nor has it been possible at any time since to estimate, even approximately, the amount of bullion the camp has produced. The big yield lasted only about two years, and in my opinion ten millions of dollars would be the maximum, yet others equally familiar with the district have placed it much higher.

The town that year became notorious as a refuge for the rough element. Two crowds of toughs located there, one from San Francisco, and the other from Sacramento, and they did not mix in anything approaching friendship. The good people of the town paid little or no attention to their killing and maiming among themselves, but when they committed a foul murder upon the person of a good citizen, W. R. Johnson, a Vigilance Committee was immediately organized with Captain Palmer as its chief. Then it was that the Vigilantes got busy, and under his leadership they worked so quickly and quietly that the entire gang found themselves locked up together before they knew what had happened. The place was surrounded by a guard of a hundred armed and determined men and there was no chance for escape.

The primary cause of the necessity for lynching these men was the killing of one of their gang by a young fellow named Johnny Rogers, who died a few months ago at Reno. Rogers was in the employ of Johnson who owned a ranch at Smith's Valley, when three hoboes on their way to Aurora, while passing through Wellington Station took a saddle horse belonging to Johnson. As soon as the discovery was made, Johnson told Rogers to saddle the best horse, take a Colt's Navy and capture the stolen horse if he had to kill all of the three men. Rogers struck out at a pony rider's gait and came up to them near Sweetwater Station. He ordered them to halt, and they replied with bullets. Brave little Rogers limbered up his battery without delay and the two who were riding immediately dismounted. One of them, Jimmy Sayres, is there yet. The others broke for the willows, and Johnny returned with the stolen horse without a scratch. Sayres was an active member of the San Francisco gunmen and was greatly missed, and though they appeared to hold no grudge against Rogers, they notified Johnson that it would not be healthy for him to show up in Aurora. He did not heed their warning and made several trips to town selling produce. He, however, went once too often, and late that fall his body was found one morning lying in the street.

For the murder of Johnson the Vigilance Committee arrested about a dozen

of the worst characters, gave all a fair trial, which resulted in the conviction and hanging of Daly, Buckley, Masterson, McDonald and one other whose name I have forgotten. Irish Tom Carberry escaped the hemp by one vote. He was reported killed a few years later in a gun fight at Austin.

Immediately following the hanging and disbanding of the Committee the town became as quiet and uninteresting as the face of a professional mourner. In 1866 I was engaged in the erection of a quartz mill, now known as the Syndicate Mill on the road from Bodie to Aurora, and among the laborers I discovered Tom Carberry, "Irish Tom." He had never ventured into town and the story of his experiences while in the hands of the Vigilantes is most amusing. He said that when the gang was led out of the pen one at a time, the presumption was that they were to hang singly. He was one of the first taken out, but when they put him back he concluded it was all off and he would hang with the others. This, together with the sight of a gang of carpenters putting up a gallows frame was the last straw. Their courage gave way and Johnny Daly asked Three Fingered Jack McDonald, "Jack, do you know any prayer? If so turn it loose before it's too late." Tom said, in explaining his own feelings, that his first sensation was a dizziness in the knees, then his stomach felt as thought a whole family was moving out. His under jaw sagged and the lump in his throat was the size of a billiard ball.

The organizing of this Vigilance Committee in Aurora was Captain Palmer's second experience in that line. I was a witness of his work in getting together a search party on the night of July 4, 1857, when one of his chief lieutenants, Bill Carder, captured the murderer of John Leary, city marshal of the town of Columbia. After due trial they hung him to the flume which crossed the road on the divide between Columbia and Gold Springs.

Some years later this same Bill Carder was killed by Mose Brockman in Aurora. I may explain that the killing of Bill Carder was a necessity. The bravest fighters of that day feared the man who could push his hat off the back of his head, draw, and put a bullet through it before it reached the ground. Brockman had been repeatedly warned that he must either face this man or be killed at sight. He decided to take no chances and, watching Carder's movements, saw him enter the saloon in the Novacovich building, then secreted himself in an unused doorway. When Carder appeared, Brockman gave him both barrels of buckshot, which resulted in the placing of a tombstone in the Aurora cemetery bearing the name of Bill Carder. This affair occurred long after the other fighting gangs had left the country and had no connection with them.

The conditions at Aurora were practically the same as at all other mining camps. A few men became rich quickly and were ruined later through speculation in stocks and dissipation. Alec Gamble, who had been a college president in Maine, was one of the original owners of the Wide West Mine, and during the first stock boom sold his holdings for $275,000 and bought a bunch of Real Del Monte at a low figure. This stock within a few months sold up to

$500 a share and Gamble became a rich man. A few years later he was wearing an unlaundered shirt and living at a twobit restaurant in San Francisco.

Another instance of a change of character and clothes as well as fortune was that of Pat Reddy. He was the terror of the town in 1863, and became one of the most brilliant and successful lawyers of the Coast. James Starke, a noted actor of that day, together with J. W. Tucker, a Montgomery Street jeweler, owned a ten-stamp mill on the ground where the Del Monte Station now stands. A forty-stamp mill was erected that summer of 1863 for the Real Del Monte Company, just below the Starke and Tucker Mill, under contract with the Miner's Foundry, owned by Howland, Angell and King, for $250,000. All freight was transported by team from Sacramento at ten cents a pound. I put in five months on that job as millwright and one of my fellow workman was Alec Tannahill, father of our present State Senator from Storey County.

It has been the custom for all old timers at Aurora to claim acquaintance with Mark Twain. Unfortunately for me, I did not know him at all except to nod in passing. Many claim to have been partners with him in mining claims, others that they had loaned him money, etc. I was loaded with wild cat stocks and much more likely to want to borrow than to lend, and when he lived at Aurora he did not look like a promising subject to tackle for a loan, though it was there that he believed himself a "millionaire for ten days," therefore I missed coming in contact with him.

I was well acquainted with Bob Howland who was a nephew of territorial Governor Nye, and a chum of Mark Twain's and a royal good fellow. Bob was city marshal at a time when it required nerve to hold down the job. Politics ran high that year of the war as it was a case of union or secession. Not knowing whether we were in California or Nevada we held one of the most unique elections ever held in the country. Polls were opened in two places and all hands voted twice the same day; the California ticket at one precinct and for the territorial candidates at the other. Something over 2300 votes were cast at each.

Among other amusements that year we were treated to a real display of arms on the field of honor. It was no French affair; on the contrary it was a genuine pistol duel for blood. Two of our most prominent citizens violated the laws of the land, or would have done so were it not for the fact that it was neutral ground in the absence of a boundary line where neither sheriff could prove jurisdiction. The principals of this affair were Dr. Eichelroth, and the editor of the Times, whose name I do not recall. The Doctor was of medium height, and weighed close to two hundred and twenty pounds, while the editor was a six-footer and of the build of a telegraph pole. "Doc" made his reputation as marksman by clipping a piece out of the shin of that live wire, and the honor of each was appeased. Captain Teal, our Sheriff, was on hand but did not interfere.

Ex-Judge Jim Hardy, who was impeached for treasonable utterances while district Judge of Calaveras County, California, was quite an important per-

sonage in the town. Also, Judge Quint, a noted attorney of California. Pauling and Kendall was a law firm of note. Kendall was elected to Congress after Nevada became a State.

The first telegraph line to reach Aurora was in June, 1863. The town was strongly Union in sentiment, though some of the leading men were rank Secessionists, among whom being Col. L. B. Hopkins, Superintendent of the Real Del Monte; Harry Newton, a prominent mining man; Milt. Elstner, a mill superintendent, R. B. Sanchez, of the banking house of Howard and Sanchez, and others of lesser prominence. Mrs. Sanchez was the leading spirit in all good works, moral, social, educational and religious; a most charming lady. She was the daughter of the famous lawyer of San Francisco, A. P. Crittenden, who was shot to death at the ferry landing by Laura D. Fair.

To the best of my recollection, John Neidy was the only man who located at Aurora in 1860 and lived there continuously until his death, about forty years. John was a California pioneer, a natural optimist, genial, jolly, generous and companionable. Horace Marden was another early settler there, but left about 1892. He was a member of the Legislature in 1889. He is still living and actively engaged in the logging business in the Siskiyou mountains. He looks and appears like a man of sixty but is over eighty. Doubtless there are others living who were witnesses to these strenuous scenes and who could render a more vivid account of the lively doings, though I cannot now call to mind even one, except Mr. Marden with whom I had an acquaintance there in the early days.

In 1890, while campaigning throughout the State, it was my privilege to renew my acquaintance with Captain J. A. Palmer, mentioned above as chief of the Vigilance Committee, who presided at our meeting held at Carlin, Elko County. His introductory remarks in presenting me to the audience, were quite characteristic of the man, though rather shy on polish. Here is his speech:

> Friends and neighbors: Something like thirty-five years ago, I met a green, hayseed of a boy over in Tuolumne County who had just landed on the coast. He looked as though he wanted to go home. Now after all these years he shows up here, six feet high, with broad shoulders and a big head. It is up to you to judge if there's anything in it. Ladies and gentlemen, I take pleasure in introducing your candidate, Mr. R. K. C. of Esmeralda County.

Within less than ten years from the first discovery of gold at Aurora, practically all active mining and milling operations ceased, and more than half of the buildings in the town were vacant. Since that time at least three attempts have been made to bring it to the front again, involving the expenditure of more than a million dollars with very slight returns. The first of these was made by a corporation with a capital of five million dollars, and a board of directors consisting of H. M. Yerington, N. K. Masten, R. M. Graves, Daniel Cook and A. J. Ralston, all men of wealth, not one of whom is now living. This company installed heavy machinery and started to sink a thousand foot shaft on Last Chance Hill. The flow of water became so great that their seventeen-inch Cornish pumps could not cope with it, and the enterprise had to be abandoned before reaching the 900 foot level.

This ended all operations for a few years, causing the practical abandonment of the place a second time. The next outfit to take hold was an English company promoted by A. E. Ann, and under the management of W. G. Tiffany, a society man of New York, London and Paris. This company spent about four hundred thousand dollars and shipped about one hundred and twenty thousand in bullion. The town then took another vacation for a few years, causing such a thinning of the population that the post office was abandoned. Later a company of Nevada and California men spent something over a hundred thousand dollars recovering very little in the way of returns and finally selling out their interests to a power company at a profit.

I trust and sincerely hope that this is not the final ending of the dear old town, for I hold the kindest feelings towards the place and the people whom I have known there, living and dead.

This account may appear somewhat overdrawn to those who are not familiar with frontier life. To these I will say that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is substantially correct. Necessarily allowances must be made for lapse of memory, which is my only record.*

R. K. Colcord.

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*In a letter to Carl P. Russell, dated at Carson City, Nevada, February 21, 1928, Mr. Colcord adds the following:

"I was a resident of both Bodie and Aurora during their boom days; Bodie from 1879 to 1886, and Aurora from 1861 to 1864. The troublesome experiences of Bodie were mild and peaceful as compared to those of Aurora. During the entire year of 1863, Aurora was the wickedest town of its size in America. In that year, in addition to the number of men who died by the gun, the knife and the black jack, quite a bunch of the worst killers met their doom by the rope at the hands of Captain J. W. Palmer's vigilance committee.

"There were never more than five thousand people living in either of these camps at any one time. Aurora was in Nevada Territory and was governed chiefly by the citizens themselves, with slight restrictions from territorial officials, while Bodie was well provided with State, county and town laws, fairly well enforced. There was some shooting and killing in Bodie, but almost wholly among the toughs themselves, and peaceful citizens were seldom molested. Bodie had good schools, two churches, and many social organizations, all well attended by people fully the equal in brains, education and culture of those in any community of the same size anywhere."

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THE WHITNEY SURVEY ON MOUNT SHASTA, 1862

A Letter from William H. Brewer to Professor Brush

Introduction

This letter, written by William H. Brewer, in 1862, to his friend George Jarvis Brush, Professor of Metallurgy at Yale University, is of historical importance, for it was a link in the chain of events that brought about the establishment of the United States Geological Survey. Many years later, Brewer told how this letter came to influence Clarence King to engage in geological survey work: "I wrote to a very old friend and classmate, Professor George J. Brush, an enthusiastic account of our adventure, emphasizing not only the scientific interest, but also the sublime and majestic scenery connected with it. To Clarence King, who happened to call upon him soon after the receipt, Prof. Brush read this letter; and, as King told me many times, 'that settled it.' He resolved to see California, and, in particular, Mount Shasta." *

So far as I know, this letter has not heretofore been published. It is not difficult to understand how these words kindled so ardent a spirit as that of Clarence King, just graduated from college and seeking a field for his unusual energies. King came to California, joined the State Survey, served several years under Brewer and Whitney, left, to establish his own Survey of the Fortieth Parallel; and finally, in 1879, persuaded Congress to consolidate the geological and geographical surveys then carried on independently by several government departments into one coordinated organization, the United States Geological Survey. After a struggle between the Army and the civilian leaders for control, and a further contest between King and Professor Hayden, King was appointed first Chief of the U. S. Geological Survey. King's early training under Brewer laid the foundation for this success, and Brewer's personal recommendation of King unquestionably carried great weight with President Hayes.

Having thus traced the influence of this letter, it may be of interest to those who are not familiar with the history of the California State Geological Survey to know the circumstances under which it was written. The Survey, commonly known as the Whitney Survey, was organized in 1860, with Josiah Dwight Whitney as Chief Geologist. One of Whitney's first appointments was that of William Henry Brewer, of New York State, as botanist and chief assistant in charge of field work. Chester Averill was for a time a general assistant employed in minor, non-technical duties. Charles F. Hoffmann, a young German with western experience, was engaged as topographer. During his years with the California Survey he developed the methods which he taught to Gardiner and others, who, in turn, established them in the Government surveys. Hoffmann was the father of scientific topographic work in this country.

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* Quoted from a letter of W. H. Brewer in a biographical notice of Clarence King, by R. W. Raymond, published in *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers*, Vol. XXXIII, for 1902 (published 1903), p. 624; also published in *Clarence King Memoirs — The Helmet of Mambrino*, 1904, p. 315.

The field work of the Survey was begun in December, 1860, when Brewer established a camp near Los Angeles and proceeded to examine the neighboring territory. The following spring the party moved gradually up the coast. The summer of 1861 was spent in the vicinity of San Francisco and Monterey, and in the spring of 1862 the work was extended eastward of San Francisco Bay, covering the range from Mount Diablo to Mount Hamilton. By midsummer the party was moving northward to the head of the Sacramento Valley. Mount Shasta beckoned onward as the climax and reward of the season's efforts.

Brewer kept a daily record of his personal observations throughout the four years of his work with the Survey. This record was in the form of a series of letters sent to his friends in the East. Fortunately the letters have been preserved with hardly a gap. Among them was found this letter to Professor Brush, a copy made by Brewer before despatching the original. Inasmuch as it overlaps and largely duplicates several of the other letters it is not required for the series, but stands complete in itself. While Brewer contributed extensively to the official publications of the Survey, notably the first volume on Botany and the first volume on Geology,* his journal is far more comprehensive than the official record. In fact, as a picture of the entire State of California in the Sixties, there is not to be found in print anything to compare with this series of letters, written on the spot, by a highly educated man, of broad sympathies, trained in the art of observing, and blessed with a delightfully whimsical humor.

FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR.†

Shasta, October 1st, 1862.

My Dear Brush:

You write to me so seldom that I have forgotten how your signature looks and begin to be in doubts whether I spell your name right in leaving out the *c* before the last letter.

As a punishment I shall inflict another letter on you (although my last is yet unanswered) and a long one at tnat, for I shall tell you something about our trip to Mount Shasta, thinking that it may interest you, for I am sure that you know nothing about that pretty little peak except its geographical position approximately.

With my little party I arrived at Shasta City in August — the hottest place this side of H —— (I came near swearing, but I meant Fort Yuma). The long intensely hot weather had told heavily on our health, I had got sick in Rag Cañon, below, and had but just joined my party again near here, when all the rest were taken down. Getting them well enough to ride again delayed us a week beyond our plans; and even then we had to leave one behind.[1]

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* Publications of the Geological Survey of California, J. D. Whitney, State Geologist. Botany, Vol. I, 1876; Geology, Vol. I, 1865.

† (The footnotes accompanying the letter are also contributed by Mr. Farquhar, who is now engaged in editing the complete series of Brewer letters for publication.—Ed.)

[1] A. Rémond, an assistant geologist.

Professor Whitney had in the mean time joined us and we left here September 6th. It is a little over eighty miles from here to the base of Mount Shasta, and it took us four days to make it.

First east, across the Sacramento — a clear, swift stream, its pure waters undefiled by miners' dirt, although there are some diggings along the road— then northeast fourteen miles to where we crossed it again, at Pit River. (Here let me say that the main stream above, where it emerges from the mountains on the east, is known as Pit River, while the name Sacramento is retained by a fork that runs nearly south from the west base of Mount Shasta.) From here to the Pit River ferry, the route lies across the metamorphic, gold-bearing slates, having a general eastern dip, forming a tableland perhaps 1000 feet in altitude, furrowed into innumerable "gulches," the deposits of the workable (i. e. findable) gold.

Near Pit River we came upon granite, a rock a mixture of quartz and feldspar, trap, and a belt of limestones interstratified with the metamorphic slates, of great interest, being highly metamorphic in places and very fossiliferous in others. I have just packed two boxes of their fossils and await with anxiety our paleontologist's examination of them.

We crossed the Pit, then over a few hills to McCloud's Fork, and up that a short distance. It is a swift and cold stream, its waters as green as those of Niagara where deep enough. Next we crossed the ridges to the Sacramento Fork. It is needless to say that the road was rough; twenty-one miles on each of two days we found heavy driving for our wagon.

These ridges are entirely of slates, dipping east, their lithological characters precisely like those of the true Sierra Nevadas. These ridges were covered with chapparal, with scattered trees here and there.

After crossing the Sacramento Fork, we followed up that stream to near the base of Mount Shasta, the bed of the stream rising rapidly.

The road we followed up this branch for forty-five miles is the most picturesque I have seen in this state, if not in my life — tolerably well engineered, but not so well executed, sometimes in the cañon by the river, at others against the sides, a mere shelf against the steep side, too narrow for wagons to pass each other, where the outer wheel on the narrow track was often uncomfortably near the soft sliding edge with an awkward depth below you on that side; now across ridges commanding most picturesque views, now crossing a stream on a high bridge — not such magnificent structures as one sees in the Alps, but without rail or parapet, merely wide enough for a wagon, made by laying poles or split logs on the beams. The attitudes and expressions of our mules in crossing some of these bridges would have been a rich theme for a painter.

Often in crossing some span we would get most lovely views of Mount Shasta, but even when that was not in sight, many of the views were picturesque beyond description.

Along this portion of our route, much lava was seen, covering metamorphic slates. It seemed to have overflowed the country after the surface had its

present general features, the minuter details being wrought in later times, for the streams had in multitudes of cases cut through these hard lavas into the almost equally hard slates beneath.

Twelve to twenty miles southwest of Mount Shasta are the Castle Mountains (*Devil's Castle* and *Castle Rock* of the maps are a part of them), most picturesque features of the landscape. There is a core of granite, the crest weathered into the most fantastic shapes — pinnacles, buttresses, domes, and spires — with only here and there a tree; their bases, where the slates and lava occur, clothed in forests. Some of these pinnacles rose 2500 to 3000 feet above our road, while the same chain farther back, (seen later from other elevations), preserving the same features, has an altitude of at least 7000 feet (perhaps 8000) above the sea.

In crossing a spur of these we got the most beautiful view of the mountain we had had. The foreground of mountains opens to show it as it appears directly up the valley, the great cone rising far above every surrounding object. Its upper 6000 feet are streaked with glistening snow, its outlines sharply cut against the intensely blue sky, its sides steep beyond anything I have ever seen elsewhere. The sky outline of the east side descended with a slope of 27 degrees! while the other side was nearly as steep. Is it any wonder that we stopped our mules and gazed with awe as well as admiration?

Near this point I came on a locality of the rare plant, the *Darlingtonia,*[2] perhaps the original locality. I have seen no other. This, the wonder and admiration of botanists could not be passed. I stopped and secured specimens while the party went on, my mule expressing great indignation thereat. Her rope would scarcely restrain her as she made the place hideous with her braying, awakening the echoes of the rocks with her lamentations. Peace to her memory — after having ridden her nearly two thousand miles, first and last, I sold her yesterday to a packer, and this morning I saw her leaving in the train, packed, braying furiously for the rest of "our party." She evidently regretted leaving the ranks of Science. Botany was her favorite pursuit, she had a keen eye for plants and has made the *graminae* her special study along various sections of the Pacific Slope for the last thirty years, possibly longer.

Several mineral springs occur near the base of the mountain; one, called the Soda Springs has some reputation for its curative powers. It contains much free carbonic acid (hence is called *soda* water), and holds carbonate of iron in solution. Several others are perhaps equally good, but are not used.

Here we leave the immediate proximity of the river and ascend by a table of lava to Strawberry Valley Ranch, at the southwestern base of the mountain, the Chamounix of the place.[3]

In ascending the Sacramento, the country had become gradually more wooded, until, during the last day's ride we passed through forests, the mag-

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[2] *Darlingtonia californica Torr.*, California Pitcher Plant.

[3] Later known as Sisson, a name unhappily abandoned recently for the pretentious and confusing Mount Shasta City.

nificence of whose trees, the coniferae, can only be conceived by actually seeing them.

Mount Shasta, as you know, is the highest point in California.[4] Williamson and Frémont guessed that it was 17,000 feet high,[5] and so it went into maps at that height. Last year a Mr. Moses measured it with a barometer, which was not graduated low enough, and gave it as a little less than 14,000 feet.[6] So much was known of its height, but of its geology I am not aware that anything was known — we have not found a particle of light in any written authority. No wonder, then, that we had for long months looked forward to this trip, that we gazed on the mysterious peak with longing eyes from afar off, and that the excitement increased inversely as the square of the distance diminished. We were now camped at its base.

A wide valley passes through to the west of the mountain, the Sacramento running south and the Shasta River north, without any dividing ridge between their headwaters, the summit being but a little over 3,000 feet altitude.

Here, at Strawberry Ranch, we were camped, and how often I wished you might have been with us for that trip — or even seen that camp. A little rill of clear cold and *pure* water (a luxury to us). Behind us, a forest — cedars 100 to 150 feet high, pines 6 to 8 feet in diameter and 200 to 225 feet high. In front, a grassy valley a mile wide; and rising beyond it, in one grand slope, 11,000 feet of the grand cone, the lower 4,500 feet clothed in dark green forests, down into which the snow descends the present summer — all above, a desolate stretch of dark rock and glistening snow.

A day is spent in overhauling apparatus, comparing barometers, resting, and making preparations for the ascent. And how long and earnestly we gazed on the mountain! Nothing else could be talked about. At sunset it was tinged with a lovely alpenglow; and then twilight deepened, and then the moon rose, and we sat around our cheerful campfire (for it was cold) and gazed still. And I got up from my blankets late in the night, when the moon's illumination was finer, to look at it by that light.

And yet, we were anxious. It was by no means certain that we could ascend it. For months we had been trying to obtain information on this point, and the various stories we heard would fill an amusing volume. Many said that the summit was absolutely inaccessible, several told us they had reached it within a few hundred feet, some said it was very easy, but by far the most of the testimony was that it was decidedly hard. We employed a Mr. Frame, who had once been up, as guide — he said the summit *could* be reached, that

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[4] This was before the discovery of Mount Whitney, which was observed and named by another party of the State Geological Survey in charge of Brewer in 1864. It was a long time before the heights of these mountains were determined, and in the mean time they were usually overestimated. The figures now give Mount Whitney first place in California, (and, indeed, in the United States, excepting Alaska), with 14,501 feet. Mount Shasta ranks sixth in California, with an altitude of 14,162 feet. This figure was obtained by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, in 1904, from very accurate measurements.

[5] There appears to be no authority for this statement.

[6] *See*, "An Ascent of Mount Shasta, 1861," from the journal of Richard G. Stanwood, in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 1, March, 1927, pp. 69-76.

he had been on it, and his manner was truthful. Two other men accompanied us for their own pleasure, Campbell and Perry, both strong, vigorous men.

Thursday, September 11th, we start, our friends with their blankets and provisions on two horses, we footing it, with our baggage packed on three mules. "Jim" and "Nell" carry our blankets and provisions, and "Charley" theirs, while "Kate," my trusty riding mule, carries a miscellaneous load of specimen bags, hammers, thermometer, compass, botanical box, canteens of water, with coffee, sugar, coffeepot, etc., filling up odd corners. Four of our party go—Professor Whitney, Hoffmann and I each carry a barometer, and Averill pays more especial attention to our pack-mules.

First we cross the swampy grassy meadow. "Nell" sinks to her belly in a bog, but is unpacked and released, is repacked, but she looks disgusted as strongly as a mule can. We proceed, the first four miles up a rather gentle slope, through a forest whose beauty cannot be appreciated from any poor description — mostly of cone-bearing trees, all of species peculiar to the Pacific Slope — cedars *(Librocedrus)* 20 feet in circumference, spruce *(A. douglassii)* as large in girth and taller, sugar pines *(P. lambertiana)* 4 to 8 feet in diameter and 200 to 250 feet in height, pitch pines *(P. ponderosa)* nearly as large. Fire had been through the woods, and multitudes of prostrate trunks lay around. I measured one sugar pine that lay beside the trail — it was 7 feet in diameter; the top had been consumed by fire all above where it was 8 inches in diameter, yet 225 feet remained — it must have been at least 250 or 275 feet high, and I doubt not but that some of the trees of this region are over 300 feet high.

These trees, straight as reeds, in all possible groupings, form scenes the beauty of which I wish you might behold.

After the first four miles the slope becomes very steep, with projecting rocks. Lava becomes more frequent, loose blocks are piled in places, and the grand fir, *Picea grandis,* appears on the scene, and soon after the more beautiful *Picea nobilis,* which last continues to the snow line.

The trail is steep and rocky, and at an altitude of 5000 to 6000 feet we pass through open spaces, bare of trees but covered with dense growth of chapparal (*Ceanothus* and *Arctostaphylos* species), troublesome to both us and our mules. These are interspersed in patches with forest, and finally with bare slopes of dry soil and loose angular blocks of lava, until we come to the camping ground at the upper edge of the timber, 4100 feet above Strawberry Valley, and 7400 feet altitude above the sea.

The upper edge of the timber is a well defined line, and I measured trees of *Picea nobilis* twenty feet in circumference not over 500 feet below where this species (and all trees) ceases entirely! The shrubby vegetation extends but very little higher; there are no grassy slopes on the mountain.

We camp in the upper edge of the timber, near a small stream, the only water we have seen since leaving the valley! This sinks but a few rods below into the porous rock. Mount Shasta is an extinct volcano, which explains this anomaly.

All are in their blankets early, for, although the campfire burns brightly we cannot linger around it, as we need all the rest we can get. We have ascended over 4000 feet, enough for a healthy exercise, and a heavy day's work lies ahead for the morrow. I am in my blankets early, to be sure, but scarcely to sleep. The grand old peak stands out against the clear night sky, and I watch it from my pillow (if a *saddle* can be called a *pillow*). The mules do not enjoy the camp, desolate as it is; their companions are luxuriating on hay in the valley below, while they are tied among the barren rocks, so they bray, sometimes singly, sometimes in concert — unpoetical music and not conducive to sleep. It is cold, and several dogs that have followed our friends up howl. Yet *sleep* is a *duty,* and at last comes.

I awake — surely it is time to start, for the moon is high, but my watch tells me it is only eleven o'clock. I turn in my blankets to adjust a sharp stone that lies under them so that a fresh portion of my ribs may be subjected to its abrading effects, and sleep again, but in an hour more the same thing is repeated. I sleep again, and the next thing I hear Professor Whitney is arousing the party with the announcement that it is half past two. All are soon astir, our breakfast is hastily got by the bright light of the moon, and at nearly half past three we are on our way. Hoffmann remains behind to observe barometer each fifteen minutes through the day, for he has been so reduced by recent sickness that he feels unequal to the task before us. The baggage is distributed — Professor Whitney and I each carry a barometer, while the rest take a couple of canteens of water, another of cold coffee (our tea had been accidentally left at the base), and some lunch.

Before us, in grim majesty, lies the immense mountain mass. How cold its snows look in the bright moonlight! All are anxious, for there is uncertainty as to whether we can succeed. No one has attempted it before, the present year, and the snow is more abundant than has ever been known before at this time of year. For half a mile or more our way lies over loose blocks of lava, or dry, ashy soil; then we strike a strip of snow, up which we follow. But what a path, and what a grade! Hour after hour we toil on it, sometimes on the snow, sometimes on a strip of loose rock beside it. The snow is melted into rough waves, often several feet deep, by the summer's sun, but is now frozen crisp. The bright moonlight gives way to grey dawn, and this to twilight. Then the sun comes up and gilds the summit ahead of us, and casts dark shadows far into the vallies beneath.

We are following up a sort of wide ravine in which the snow lies; on either side are sharp ridges, the naked lava standing out. It looks as if it had been wreathed in curious forms as it flowed there, and then, in later times, weathered into fantastic shapes — walls, battlements, pinnacles shooting up hundreds of feet.

The ascent grows steeper and steeper as we climb toward the Red Bluffs, a sharp ridge at the altitude of about 13,000 feet. Five thousand feet lie on that slope, and the horizontal distance is not over two and a half miles; and

the last 2000 feet lies at an angle of not less than forty degrees! But how it tries one's wind as we toil up it, in the thin air. We pant and puff, sit down on the snow to rest a minute, then push on, soon as short of breath as before — the air seems to refuse to strengthen one.

This ridge is attained at eight o'clock. It is very cold, and we stop for half an hour to rest and to get an observation for its height, sitting in the sun on the lee side of the ledge, then push on.

For the next hour we have some of the finest views we get, for the air is getting hazy. Smoke and dust fill the air in the vallies beneath, which are seen in partial obscurity, for at this season of the year the lower stratum of our California atmosphere is thicker than our most smoky Indian summer days of the Eastern states.

The next thousand feet is less steep, but scarcely less difficult. Cold as it has been, the wind sweeps over the ridge with considerable force, and is colder. Professor Whitney has his fingers frostbitten. We toil on in silence, for no one has breath to spare in talking. A part of the way is over hard lava, or a conglomerate made of pieces of lava cemented with a red volcanic ash; sometimes on snow, which was much more difficult. The snow had melted, forming a surface entirely unlike anything I have seen in Switzerland or Tyrol. Imagine the snow *gashed* with a huge knife into slices two to four feet deep, running east and west, then these slices melting so that they presented sharp edges to the sun, of unequal heights, not standing perpendicular, but leaning to the south, or down hill. We are now ascending nearly north. When the edges are firm enough to bear one, we can step from edge to edge, but when they break we slip in until the feet wedge into the bottom, making a peculiarly fatiguing as well as difficult place to carry a barometer. The difficulty increased on descending, when in places the edges were partially thawed, and would continually break and let us down.

About three hundred feet below the highest summit is a narrow valley separating two peaks of unequal height, probably the remains of an old crater. In this, sulphur water, boiling hot, issues from several orifices, and steam, strongly charged with sulphurous gases (mostly HS), issues from many vents. Sulphur is mixed with the ashy soil in places, and we collected fine specimens.

The last three hundred feet up from this spot is rather steep and difficult. Many who get this far cannot accomplish this short remaining distance.

It was near noon when we reached the summit. The highest point, a mere pinnacle of lava, is reached only with some difficulty. A stone loosened from it on either of three sides would go crashing down several hundreds of feet, while it is accessible only by a narrow ridge on the remaining side.[7]

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[7] Recalling his experiences on Mount Shasta in addressing the members of the Appalachian Mountain Club at its Tenth Anniversary, in Boston, March 5, 1886, Professor Brewer said: "When we got to the top we found people had been there before us. There was a liberal distribution of 'California conglomerate,' a mixture of tin cans and broken bottles, a newspaper, a Methodist hymn-book, a pack of cards, an empty bottle, and various other evidences of a bygone civilization." (*Appalachia,* Vol. IV, No. 4, December, 1886, p. 368.)

We were obliged to place our barometer eighteen feet below this summit. We got five observations there with both barometers, at quarter-hour intervals, corresponding with observations taken at the camp at snow-line below, and also with hourly observations with a fourth barometer at Shasta. The thermometer stood at 26°, the barometer at 17.655 inches. As I had to use my coat to shade the instruments, I shivered in the cold.

We were unfortunate as to the day, so far as prospect was concerned, but fortunate for barometrical observations. The air had become more and more hazy, and finally clouds curled around the summit. At times they would roll partially away and give us occasional glimpses of the landscape beneath, enough to show how magnificent it must be in clearer weather.

In the west, a wilderness of mountains stretching to the Pacific, chain beyond chain — all dim now, however — many streaked with snow, others black with chapparal, the vallies filled with smoke, the tops more or less obscured by clouds. In the northwest the valley of the Klamath River and mountains beyond — the Siskiyou Mountains, which stretched around to the north, perhaps abounding in the most picturesque views in the state, if not on the Pacific Slope.

All in the east was obscured. In the south, mountains for about fifty miles, then the great Sacramento Valley. The valley was filled with haze or smoke to the height of three or four thousand feet, the top appearing to us as level as the sea, and rising above it the sharp outlines of Lassen's Butte, nearly a hundred miles distant. It seemed like an isolated island-peak of black rock and white snow rising from this sea of smoke.

It was curious to note the effect of the rarified air and fatigue on the party. All were more or less drowsy, and some slept. We lunched and smoked, however, but all did not appear to enjoy it. Eyes were bloodshot, and lips blue, and all had more or less headache. Soon Averill, Frame, and Campbell became very sick, vomited severely, but not until some time after reaching the top. Campbell, who is peculiarly liable to seasickness, described his sensations as precisely similar to that.

The clouds quite suddenly grew thicker around us, enveloping everything in dense fog, and we commenced the descent. We reached the Red Bluffs in an hour; it had taken us three and a half to ascend over the same distance. Our beards were white with the freezing fog. From this point the rest descended much faster than Professor Whitney and I, for it was a trying place for carrying barometers — we did not get to camp until nearly two hours after them.

The clouds that had formed around us at the summit did not descend much below 11,000 feet, and when we got below this point we had a peculiar scene. It seemed as if we were viewing nature from just beneath the ceiling — as one sometimes views the interior of old churches from some point over the organ. The effect was grand. The clouds cut off the mountain above us and the tops of some of the mountains in the west, which seemed like pillars supporting this vast canopy. Below this, the air was thick and smoky, into which the sun

streamed in places through rifts in the clouds. Then we saw a heavy shower slowly marching over the mountains in the northwest. The whole effect was peculiarly striking.

I need not describe the descent of the grand slope, walking, sliding, tumbling, but we brought both barometers down in safety, the greatest feat of the entire trip. We reached our camp before sundown — a hearty supper, a good smoke, and we were soon in our blankets.

It had snowed some before we got down and scattering flakes fell during the evening. It grew very cold — it must have been as low as twenty degrees — the clouds grew thicker and the wind grew high, and a fierce snow squall came on. It would find its way, with the fierce wind, into our blankets, in spite of our efforts. But my blankets were thick, I had got in the lee of a bush, and, tired as I was, I slept soundly and sweetly. Ice formed an inch thick that night in the little stream near camp.

In the morning the sky had cleared, and was of the intensest blue again. The rest returned to Strawberry in the morning, but I remained to botanize in the vicinity and observe barometer, while observations were going on below, to get the altitude of our mountain camp, the snow-line. I returned again on the fifteenth and spent two more days there for the same purpose. Thus, between the summit and the snow-line we had five simultaneous observations; between the snow-line and Strawberry, quarter-hour observations for several hours on three different days; between Strawberry and Shasta, simultaneous hourly observations for four days; between Shasta and Red Bluff, the same for five days; then the same for Marysville, which point has been already accurately determined. I have not all the observations yet, and all are not yet reduced. I will not send this until they are.[8]

Mount Shasta is the highest point in this state. It is higher than any point in Switzerland, and only 1200 feet lower than Mont Blanc itself.[9] Yet it lacks the grandeur of the Swiss Alps, being destitute of many of the elements of beauty so much admired there.

In this climate, although immense quantities of snow fall in winter, no rain falls during the long cloudless days of summer, so there are no *glaciers*.[10] Much of the mountain is so steep that the snow blows or slides off, and during the summer lies only in the gulches (which are wide, rather than narrow ravines), and thus streaks the sides for about 6500 feet of the upper part.

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[8] The computations were not completed until several weeks later. Whitney's figures were 14,440 feet, about 280 feet too high. (See footnote, No. 4.)

[9] Mont Blanc is 15,781 feet, more than 1600 feet higher than Shasta. A number of peaks in Switzerland, including the Matterhorn (14,780), Monte Rosa (15,217), Dent Blanche (14,318), and Weisshorn (14,804), exceed the height of Shasta.

[10] There are, of course, glaciers of considerable magnitude upon Shasta. The Whitney party ascended by a route which avoided them, excepting at the top, where they were covered with snow. Clarence King first reported the Shasta glaciers, discovered by him in September, 1870, in *The Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1871, and *American Journal of Science*, 3rd Series, Vol. I, 1871, p. 157. *See also*, King's *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada*, 1872, Chapter XI. The subject is discussed at length by Israel C. Russell in *Glaciers of North America*, 1897.

In any rainy country these bare ridges would be more or less covered with alpine plants, grasses, mosses, etc. In Switzerland, even the few hours of sun, on some days, warm into life plants wherever they can obtain soil, up to highest points of naked rock. Springs gush from many points, and innumerable rills course over the higher slopes.

Not so here. The water from the melting snow is immediately absorbed by the porous lava. The soil, a mixture of volcanic ashes and comminuted lava, would undoubtedly possess great fertility with water, but as it is, it is dry and dusty. From the summit to the base I saw but one spring, the waters of which sank in a few rods, and one small rill running from the snows of a ravine, and that too sank in less than half a mile from the snow. A few shrubs and sub-alpine plants flourish just above the timber, for a few hundred feet, but all above 10,000 feet is a scene of unmixed desolation, not relieved by any plant, nor did we see insect or bird above this height. This barren scene succeeds almost immediately the disappearance of the upper zone of timber, and above 9000 or 10,000 feet I sought in vain either herb or shrub on the soil, *or even a moss or lichen* on the rocks! Yet, strange enough, we found the famous "red snow" in quantities (probably the *Protococcus nivalis*), and I send you the plant. This was most abundant near the lower edge of the snow. The alpine flora was peculiarly meager but I got some few interesting plants.

The Alps are beautifully grand, Mount Shasta sublimely desolate. Geologically, it is nearly as barren as it is botanically. A great cone of lava — little else. It is not, like Aetna, made up of an almost infinite number of small lava streams, but seems to have been formed in a comparatively short period, by a few gigantic eruptions.

It appears to belong to a series, or chain, of volcanoes, that probably had their time of greatest activity during the Tertiary period, but extended down to comparatively modern times. This line probably extended nearly north and south, or north northwest and south southeast. Lassen's Butte and its adjacent craters belonged to this chain, which ran north to an unknown distance.

I have extended this letter to over twice the length I had intended it, but please pardon its prolixity. Professor Dana will probably wish to hear some of the items, if Professor Whitney has not written him. Should he desire, please show him this letter. But please do not publish anything relative to its *geology* until Professor Whitney gives the privilege.

Give my regards also to Professor Silliman, Johnson, etc. And believe me as of old,

WILLIAM H. BREWER.

SPANISH VOYAGES TO THE NORTHWEST COAST IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER V

THE OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE RETURN ROUTE

In the sixteenth century the term "Malucos," or "Moluccas" as the English called them, was loosely applied to what was sometimes known as the "Especeria," or the "Spice Islands," and comprised all those islands in the Indian Archipelago where spices were thought to grow. Of these, cloves, the most valuable and most sought after, were found in quantities sufficient to form an exportable commodity only in five little islands, the Moluccas proper, just west of Gilolo. Of these Ternate and Tidore, both very small and lying almost under the Equator, produced the largest amount. Those islands to the north, afterwards known as the Philippines, did not produce them or any other spice except cinnamon, which was afterwards found in small quantities on Mindanao. There was gold on Celebes and several of the Philippines, and even at that time an insignificant amount was washed out of the river sands. When the Portuguese established themselves in India in the early part of the century they found that spices were brought there from the Moluccas by way of Malacca. A desire probably to go directly to their source induced the viceroy, Affonso Alburquerque, to occupy the latter place in 1511. Here they came directly in contact with the Javanese traders who brought cloves, nutmegs, and mace from the Moluccas and adjoining islands. Alburquerque sent out from Malacca some exploring parties to the north and east. One under the command of Antonio Dabreu was accompanied by Francisco Serrano, who, on his return, was shipwrecked and taken to one of the Moluccas, probably Ternate, as here he built a small trading house and remained for some time.[1] Fernando Magellan accompanied another expedition but where he went is not exactly known.

In October, 1517, Magellan turned up in Seville with a plan to interest the Spaniards in an expedition to take possession of the Moluccas, asserting that they were the principal islands where spices were produced. He alleged that three of them were two and one-half degrees and the other two, four degrees east of the line of demarcation in the eastern hemisphere, and therefore lay in the territory alloted to the King of Spain.[2] He said that he was a friend of Serrano, and apparently gave out that the latter was awaiting him there. He also claimed that he would follow a new route to them by which he would not pass the Cape of Good Hope.

The famous bull of Alexander VI of 1493 divided the New World, discovered and to be discovered, between Spain and Portugal by a line drawn from pole to pole 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Not satisfied with the division, the two powers came to an agreement at Tordesillas in June,

1494, by which the division line was moved to the meridian 370 leagues west of those islands.[3] It was an easy thing to fix meridians in documents, but when it came to locating them on the earth's surface, everyone was at sea. The methods in vogue of determining longitude were of the most primitive description, giving room for wide differences of opinion. The Spaniards and the Portuguese were even unable to agree as to where the line of demarcation ran on paper. There was a dispute between them as to which of the Cape Verde group was the one from which the 370 leagues should be measured, and there was still another as to whether these should be counted on the Equator from the point where the meridian which passed through the islands crossed it, or on the parallel of latitude running through that island. Besides all this, there was no certainty as to the exact location of the Cape Verde Islands themselves.

In the middle of the sixteenth century it was generally supposed that this line crossed the Equator about forty degrees west of the meridian passing through Toledo, but some, as we shall see, considered it to run forty-two or forty-three degrees west of that place. Admitting in full the claims made later by the Spaniards, the line would have actually run about forty-seven and one-half degrees west of Greenwich, or about forty-two degrees and forty minutes west of Toledo. The extreme Portuguese claims carried it about three degrees farther east. Just where the line in the eastern hemisphere ran was, of course, at first entirely unknown. The Portuguese who measured by the courses and the distances run according to the logs of their voyages around by the Cape of Good Hope seem at first to have made a mistake by making these distances too great. From such calculations it is probable that Magellan derived the information he gave the Spanish King. The meridian of demarcation in the east was not west of the Moluccas as he said, but actually about five and one-half degrees east of them.

In a recently published work[4] Father Pablo Pastells attributes the repeated Spanish voyages to the Islands of the West to no other motive than the desire to take possession as soon as possible of those parts of the earth alloted to the King of Spain by the agreement made at Tordesillas. Father Pastells does not produce any document to support his assertion, and the failure so far to unearth the records of the consultations in the Council of the Indies, at which the projects to take possession of the Moluccas or Philippines were at different times entertained, leaves us in some doubt as to what was the real object to be attained. The continued reference, however, in all the accounts of the various expeditions, to gold[5] and spices would indicate that the riches of the East was what was sought, and in fact, trade for spices was the avowed purpose of the first and second expeditions sent out. A number of merchants were interested in Magellan's and Loaysa's enterprises,[6] and large cargoes of goods for trading were taken with the expectation of securing a quantity of spices, especially cloves, in exchange for them.

Magellan left San Lucar in September, 1519, and after passing through the Strait of Magellan and reaching the Ladrones, now known as the Marianas,

took a course due west, instead of one southwest, which he should have taken in order to reach the Moluccas, as he claimed to be going to them and knew where they were, or at least so he had said before leaving Spain. The only reasonable supposition which can be advanced for his avoiding them and going to the Philippines instead is that he feared that they were in the possession of the King of Portugal. When the survivors of the expedition finally reached them in November 1521, by way of Borneo, after Magellan had been killed, they found that a Portuguese squadron under the command of Tristan de Meneses had been in Ternate in 1520 and had taken away Serrano, leaving Pedro de Lorosa in his place. It is even probable that two ships under the command of Meneses or Garcia Enriquez had been there since. May 13, 1522, after the *Victoria* and *Trinidad* had left, Antonio de Brito came to Tidore with a powerful fleet to take permanent possession of them. It thus seems evident that the Moluccas proper had not only been discovered by the Portuguese, but that they had been occupied, in a fashion, fairly continuously by them, although apparently this had not been accompanied by any formal act of taking possession.[7]

After the Magellan expedition reached Tidore it was decided to send one ship back to Spain by the Cape of Good Hope and the other, the *Trinidad,* to Panama. The *Victoria* under the command of Juan Sebastian del Cano reached Seville September 8, 1522, with some twenty-six tons of cloves, a few other spices and some sandalwood. The *Trinidad* left Tidore April 6, 1522, under the command of Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa. He succeeded in reaching as far north as 42°, where a great number of large whales and many flocks of birds were seen. Having only water and rice, and lacking sufficient clothing to withstand the very cold weather encountered in that high latitude, the men fell sick and Gomez was obliged to return to the Moluccas, having lost thirty of his crew.[8]

The King of Portugal, before Magellan left Spain, had protested against the expedition as being directed to a part of the world belonging to him, and after the return of the *Victoria* he made some very lively representations to the Emperor about his breach of the obligations undertaken at Tordesillas, claiming that the Moluccas were in his own dominions. The result was a long and bitter controversy. Several conferences between commissioners of the two powers were held at Badajoz in the spring of 1524, at which, after an examination of sundry maps, the respective claims of the two powers were finally boiled down to the following: the Portuguese claimed that the Moluccas were 137 degrees and the Spaniards 183 degrees east of Sal, one of the Cape Verde Islands.[9] The actual difference in longitude between these places is about one hundred and fifty degrees, showing the error of the Portuguese to have been only about thirteen while that of the Spaniards was thirty-three degrees. The latter relied chiefly on a statement of Francisco Albo,[10] one of the pilots who returned in the *Victoria,* that the difference in longitude between the western point of the Strait of Magellan and the first island in the Philippines reached

was 106½ degrees. In reality this difference is 160 degrees, such an enormous error giving grounds for the suspicion that Albo was not sincere in his statement. This claim of the Spanish experts, which brought the line of demarcation in the East somewhat to the west of Malacca — some said one or two degrees and some said more — was adhered to for almost a hundred years, if not more, and even after repeated voyages had been made between Acapulco and the islands and between Lisbon and Malacca.

As soon as it was apparent to the Emperor that the Portuguese would not agree to his contention that the Moluccas were in his territory, he took immediate steps to hasten the construction of a fleet to be sent there under the command of Frey Garcia Jofre de Loaysa. A *Casa de Contratacion de la Especeria* was sent up in Seville and merchants were invited to subscribe to the expenses of the expedition. Such unusual speed was employed that the fleet of five ships was able to sail from Coruña July 24, 1525. Not satisfied with sending out one expedition, two others were projected, and actually left Seville, the first under the command of Diego Garcia, January 15, 1526, and the other under the famous Sebastian Cabot, April 3. Both men were directed to pass through the Strait of Magellan, but neither ever reached it. In the meantime, the ships of Loaysa, reduced to four, had passed through the strait, but soon became separated. The *Santiago* took refuge on the coast of Mexico,[11] and one was lost. Of the others, the principal ships, one, the *Santa Maria del Parral,* arrived at the islands, lost her reckoning, and was wrecked, and the *Victoria,* the *capitana* or flag-ship, reached Zamafo on the Island of Gilolo in the early part of November, 1526, with about one hundred and five men, the rest having perished during the journey. Of these but few finally reached Spain, seven or eight years later.

The Emperor, wishing to support Loaysa in the struggle which he foresaw would ensue in the East with the Portuguese, directed Cortés, June 20, 1526, to send at least two ships to the Moluccas.[12] Cortés was building some vessels at Sihuatanejo, on the west coast of Mexico, not far from Zacatula, and as soon as these were ready he dispatched two of them and the *Santiago,* Loaysa's ship, October 31, 1527, under the command of Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron. Saavedra in the *Florida* sighted the islands in February and arrived at Tidore March 30, 1528, after losing his other two ships and all but thirty of his crew. He found eighty of Loaysa's Spaniards entrenched under the command of Hernando de la Torre, Loaysa having died. It was at once agreed that the *Florida* should be careened and prepared for a return voyage to New Spain to secure assistance. June 12[13] she set sail with some seventy quintals of cloves, under the command of Saavedra, who attempted to return by a route almost directly east. Having sailed some two hundred and fifty leagues, he anchored at an island inhabited by negroes, which he named Pápuas (really New Guinea) and where he remained thirty days, as the wind was contrary. He then ran along the coast another 100 leagues, and later turned north, reaching some islands in 7° North latitude.[14] The northeast winds were now so strong that he had to

return to Tidore, reaching there November 19.[15] May 8 of the following year he again set sail, taking the same route as before, but was again obliged to turn north. On reaching a latitude of about 26°, he died, having given final instructions to sail up to 30°, and then to return to Tidore if the winds should not be found favorable to proceed to New Spain. The ship under the pilot finally reached 31°, but as the wind was always contrary it was decided to return to the Moluccas, which were reached December 8, 1529.[16]

In 1529 the Emperor borrowed 350,000 ducats from the King of Portugal and entered into an agreement with him at Zaragoza, April 22 of that year, to pawn to him, until the loan was repaid, whatever rights he might have in the Moluccas and other islands to the east thereof up to the meridian which cut the Equator 297½ leagues east of the Moluccas.[17] The essential details of this agreement are set out in the memorial of Urdaneta translated hereafter. It may be noted here, however, that there was a clause in the contract which prohibited the ships of the King of Spain or those of his subjects from entering, navigating, or trading in the islands, lands and seas included in the territory set apart in the pawn. It was provided that the King of Spain should not send any one to those islands or seas, nor give his aid or favor to any one to go there contrary to the agreement, and that if by accident any Spanish ships should discover any islands or lands within the said territory, such should belong to the King of Portugal, as if they had been discovered by his own vassals. It was further provided that the fleets of the King of Spain should pass through the waters of Portugal only on a direct course to the Strait of Magellan, and heavy penalties were provided for breach of the contract. In view of these conditions, if there had been any territory belonging to the King of Spain between the Moluccas and the line of demarcation in the Far East, it does not appear that there was any legal method by which it could be reached by Spanish ships; the route by the Cape of Good Hope was forbidden them, and so was the passage across the zone included in the pawn.

The controversy over the Moluccas was at an end, but now the jurists and politicians in Spain persuaded themselves that a field for legitimate exploration lay open to them in the territory between the Moluccas and the line of demarcation, which according to the Spanish experts ran west of Malacca. Those islands, afterwards known as the Philippines, lay in this zone, and it now became the chief object of the Spanish crown for some time to take possession of them. Several concessions granted to different adventurers, subsequent to the agreement at Zaragoza, could hardly have had any other object in view. The latest was the contract made by the Emperor with Alvarado in 1538. We have seen that Mendoza took over Alvarado's fleet and undertook to carry out his contract. The arrangements were practically completed before Alvarado died; Mendoza found everything prepared, ships, pilots, officers, arms, artillery, and in fact, everything except food. The commander finally sent, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, was not one of Alvarado's followers, but an appointee of Mendoza and a relative of his by marriage. Most of the officers

and pilots who finally accompanied the expedition, however, had come from Spain by way of Guatemala with Alvarado. The only important man he had brought from Spain who did not go was Urdaneta, whose biographers usually state, without any foundation, that Mendoza wished to place him in command, but that he refused.

The expedition consisted of the *Santiago* (the *capitana*), of which Gaspar Rico was the pilot; the *San Jorge,* with Alonso Fernandez the Tarifeño as pilot;[18] the *San Antonio,* pilot, Francisco Ruiz; the *San Juan de Letran,* pilot, Ginés de Mafra; the *San Cristobal,* a *galleota* commanded by Bernardo de la Torre; and a *fusta* named the *San Martin.* The royal officials were Jorge Nieto, *contador,* Onofre de Arévalo, *veedor,* and Garcia de Escalante Alvarado, *factor,* all of whom had been appointed by the Emperor in 1538-1540 to these positions in the "Islands of the West." [19] Mendoza appointed Guido de Lavezaris, purser, to take charge of the trading goods belonging to Agustin Guerrero. Four Augustinian friars, Gerónimo de Santiesteban, Alonso de Alvarado, Nicolas de Perea and Sebastian de Reyna, afterwards known as Trassiera, and four secular priests accompanied the expedition. September 15 Mendoza issued a provision for his appointees, and September 18 his instructions to Villalobos,[20] which in general differ in few respects from those given to Diego Lopez de Zuñiga. No route to be followed was laid out. In one paragraph Mendoza says that the ships were well equipped and victualed, because, as the return voyage had not been discovered, it was thought that it must be a long one.

November 1, 1542, the expedition departed from Navidad and followed very much the route taken by Saavedra in 1527, passing a number of small islands, mostly near the tenth parallel of latitude. After sailing beyond some of these, which they named "Matalotes," a consultation was held to determine what route should be followed. It was proposed by the pilot who had been over the route with Saavedra[21] to steer for the north point of Mindanao in about 11°, so that the fleet could pass between it and the small island to the north and then continue on to Cebú and Mactan, where they expected to make a settlement. All the others said that they should follow the tenth parallel of latitude, and as this party was in the majority, this opinion was accepted. Thus they finally reached land February 2, 1543, in 7° 40′ in a bay which they named "Malaga," on the east side of Mindanao. The pilots calculated that they had covered about fifteen hundred leagues from Navidad. In the summer it was resolved to send the *San Juan* back to New Spain under the command of Bernardo de la Torre.[22] He left August 4, and after having taken on food at Tandaya sailed off August 26 to the northeast on his voyage. He discovered some islands, one a volcano, which lay just north of the Ladrones in 26°. October 18, the pilots, Rico and Fernandez, calculated that they were in 30°, and 750 leagues in a straight line from Sarragan or Tandaya. Here they encountered a storm from the north and turned back, reaching Tandaya at a bay on the north side in thirteen days.[23]

Villalobos, who could not secure food and had lost most of his ships, pro-

ceeded to the Moluccas, reaching Tidore April 4, 1544. The Portuguese ordered him to leave but took no active steps to drive him away. A new Portuguese commander soon arrived and entered into an amicable arrangement with him, the understanding being that they would await orders from Spain and Portugal, or else from New Spain and India. Villalobos now thought it advisable to send the *San Juan* to make another attempt to reach New Spain, but this time by the south, as he believed that the sea would be found quieter there and a better voyage could be made. He placed Iñigo Ortiz de Retes in command and sent with him Father Gerónimo in order to give more ardor to the Viceroy in forwarding help. Ortiz left Tidore May 16, 1545, and rediscovered New Guinea, of which he took possession. He coasted along this island until August 12, when, finding the wind continually contrary, he resolved to try sailing to the north. The sailors began to complain, wishing to return, so on the 27th, after having sailed a short distance, the *San Juan* headed towards Tidore where she arrived October 3, having sailed altogether about six hundred leagues to the east.[24]

In October, 1545, another Portuguese commander appeared with a small fleet. Villalobos, aware of his false position in the Moluccas entirely contrary to his instructions, and despairing of receiving any aid from New Spain, surrendered, on the agreement to send him and his men back to Spain by way of India. In January, 1546, the Spaniards set sail with the Portuguese fleet and proceeded to Ambon, where Villalobos died of a malarial fever. July 11 the party reached Malacca. After staying there five months they were sent to Goa and finally reached Lisbon about August 1, 1548.

In 1544 the Emperor sent out Lic. Francisco Tello de Sandoval to Mexico to put into effect the new laws of the Indies. He was ordered to take the *residencia* of the Viceroy and the royal officials, and was given authority to send Mendoza to Spain if he should consider it necessary. Among the new laws was one which prohibited any viceroy from engaging in discovery. Mendoza afterwards said that two ships he was building to send to follow Villalobos with four hundred men were nearly finished when Sandoval arrived in March.[25] He complained bitterly of this order and claimed that although, as he had heard from Spain, the Portuguese, who had news of Villalobos, had stated that the island where he was located[26] was in territory pawned to them by the Emperor, such was not the case, as he was ready to prove. He also claimed that he had given proper instructions to Villalobos to avoid the territory of the King of Portugal, and did not believe that he had entered it.[27] Nevertheless, Villalobos was in that territory beyond any question. The breach of contract with the Portuguese was clear, and as soon as they heard of his presence at Tidore, apparently in the fall of 1545, they protested to the Emperor, who, November 9 of that year, sent an order to Mendoza instructing him what action to take in case any of his fleet should return to New Spain, and complaining of his action.[28]

In a letter written by Mendoza in 1551 just before leaving for Peru he

states that the King of Portugal had sent threats against him by the hand of Father Gerónimo, who had then evidently reached New Spain, and that some followers of his and persons in the Moluccas in whom he had confidence had treated with the Portuguese about running away with some ships and coming to New Spain. Not having been able to do this, they had left there the maps of what had been discovered on the coast of New Spain, so he suspected that before long some ship would come, as some Portuguese who were going about the islands near China in a kind of revolt had no other way out. It might therefore be, he surmised, that they would join the Spaniards to whom he referred and come to New Spain in search of him.[29]

The Emperor, in a letter from Innsbruck, of March, 1552, wrote that he had seen Mendoza's letter and read it carefully, but that he was too far away to go thoroughly into the matter. He thought, however, that it was not convenient at the time to stir up trouble about the Spice Islands, but if the Portuguese came to the ports of the South Sea it would then be time to talk about it. He also referred to the fact that the new viceroy, Luis de Velasco, had written him something about the matter.[30] This may possibly have been a letter written by the latter October 18, 1550, in which he said that he had talked with Mendoza about the affairs of the islands and had told him that the Emperor desired to have absolute knowledge whether the return voyage could be made. They had agreed that this was a matter of great importance but could do nothing, as they had strict orders to that effect.[31] On the whole, it seems probable that nothing more was done relative to an occupation of the Philippines until after the death of Charles.[32] His son, Philip, on succeeding to the throne, evidently embraced different ideas.

All the previous expeditions to the islands had been sent out and largely financed by traders, or by speculators like Cortés, Alvarado and Mendoza.[33] The government had furnished part of the funds for those of Magellan and Loaysa and afterwards repaid Cortés for what he spent on that of Saavedra.[34] A change of policy now took place; the government took over the venture for its own account. Just when it was decided to send out an expedition from Mexico to take possession of the islands is not known, as the documents have not so far been found. It appears from a cedula of September 24, 1559, directed to Velasco, that some time previously an instruction of some sort bearing on the matter had been sent to him.[35] When he had received this, he had solicited the opinion of various persons regarding the size and character of the ships, forces, and provisions to be sent, and the route to be followed. These, together with a suggestion that Andrés de Urdaneta be asked to accompany the expedition by reason of his experience and knowledge of the islands, he had forwarded to Philip in 1558 by the hands of his son and Juan Pablo de Carrion, who had been with Villalobos, and after returning to Lisbon in 1548 had gone back to Mexico again. From Carrion's letter of September 11, 1564,[36] it appears that preparations had been made to begin building the ships in Navidad before he had left Mexico. The order of September 24 contained definite instructions to

Velasco to prepare two ships of the size and build he should think advisable, and send them with the necessary force to discover the Islands of the West towards the Moluccas and bring back some spices as samples as soon as they had executed their orders. Velasco was also ordered to issue instructions to them not to go to the Moluccas, but only to other islands nearby, such as the Philippines and others outside of the pawn to the King of Portugal and inside the territory which belonged to Spain. Philip dwelt upon the fact that no time was to be wasted in trade but that a return voyage to New Spain should be begun at once, as that was the principal object of the expedition, and wound up by reprimanding Velasco for having communicated the affair to so many people.

All this is sufficient proof that the scheme had originated some time before. From the distinction made in this cedula between what pertained to the Kings of Portugal and Spain in the East, it appears that one of the results of the Villalobos expedition, which was supposed, very erroneously, to have reached the Philippines in a voyage not exceeding 1500 leagues, was to confirm the belief in Spain that not only the Moluccas but the Philippines lay in the territory of the King of Spain. As the Moluccas and a certain section lying to the east of the meridian passing through them had been pawned to the King of Portugal, it followed that there was something to the west of that meridian which was included in the possessions of the King of Spain. The precise relation between the situation of the Moluccas and the Philippines was not then known, but as a matter of fact, the latter all lie to the west of the meridian passing through the Moluccas, and therefore they were not included in the pawn to the King of Portugal. On the other hand, this strip of territory did not really fall within the domains of the King of Spain, because the line of demarcation ran considerably to the east of them, just as the Portuguese claimed. Nothing is said in the order about taking possession of the Philippines, but there can be no doubt that such was the real object of the expedition, this being implied by the use of the word "discovery" as well as by the subsequent actions of the commander. Discovery in those days meant "taking possession."

Philip also sent a letter to Urdaneta under the same date (September 24), reciting the fact that he had been informed that when he had been a civilian he had gone out to the spice country and was a good cosmographer.[37] He said that it would therefore be a great thing if he would accompany the expedition, and charged him to do so and to follow the orders of the Viceroy. He also wrote a letter to the provincial of the Augustinians in Mexico requesting him to send Urdaneta and some other friars. These orders reached Mexico about May 11, 1560. Fray Agustin de Coruña, the provincial of the Augustinians, answered on the 22d that he would send Urdaneta and three others, as that was as many as the Viceroy thought advisable under the circumstances.[38]

Urdaneta was neither the captain nor the pilot of any of Legaspi's ships, nor, so far as can be made out from the documents, had he anything to do

with navigating the vessels, but that he acted in an advisory capacity on the voyage is certain. The man himself had already had a very remarkable career, and everything goes to prove that he possessed great ability. He was born in 1508 in Villafranca in the province of Guipuzcoa, and in 1525 embarked with the expedition of Loaysa as a soldier. In 1536 he finally succeeded in reaching Spain, where besides answering a number of interrogatories addressed to him on various events of the expedition, he presented a long narrative containing a history of it. Later he said that when he came back from that expedition he was a captain, and an official of the royal *Hacienda,* in which office he claimed to have spent 1500 or more ducats which had never been repaid. He also alleged that he had spent all he had in preparations to join Alonso de Camargo's expedition to Chile. For some reason he did not go, but went out to Guatemala in 1539 with Alvarado, to accompany him on his contemplated voyage to the Moluccas.[39] Probably on account of Alvarado's death he remained in Mexico, assisting in putting down the Indian revolt in New Galicia.[40] Afterwards, he served as *almirante* in Mendoza's fleet to Peru. In 1552 he became an Augustinian frair, making formal profession March 20, 1553.[41]

The Viceroy wrote, May 28, that he would comply with Philip's orders, and was already building in Navidad a ship of 200 tons, another of 170 or 180 tons and a *patache.* He said that the provincial of the Augustinians had given Urdaneta a license to go and that he had accepted. In regard to the reprimand about having talked too much about the journey, he wrote that he had spoken about it only to those persons whose opinions were necessary, and to his son Antonio who had gone to Madrid to make a personal report, but that in a work where hatchets and hammers were necessary there could be no secret, and that as the ships were being made in the South Sea, the general opinion was that they were for no other purpose than for an expedition to the Islands of the West, although he had given out that they were being made for the trade with Peru and the security of the coast, and to give this a better appearance, had caused all the artillery, munitions and supplies to be carried to Acapulco, 100 leagues nearer Peru than Navidad. In this letter, the Viceroy reminded the King that it would not be possible to go to the Philippines without crossing the territory included in the pawn to the King of Portugal, and that they as well as the Moluccas were included in that pawn.[42] To back up his opinion he inclosed with the letter a statement by Urdaneta regarding the matter which he said could be considered definitive, as he was the best and most careful cosmographer in the country. He adopted, however, the sophistical reasoning of Urdaneta on the subject. Urdaneta also wrote the King the same day a letter in which, after referring to his services, he said that although more than fifty-two years of age and in bad health he had disposed himself for the labors of the journey, confiding solely in Divine help.[43]

Urdaneta's opinion was that it was not possible to proceed to the Philippines without violating the pawn agreement of 1529.

The Isla Filipina is not only inside the limits of the agreement and the pawn, but the point which makes out on the east side is on the same meridian as the Malucos, and about one hundred and fifty leagues to the north of them; therefore, the greater part of the island is more to the west of the meridian than the Malucos. The contract and agreement in the pawn is that from the Malucos toward the east at a distance of seventeen degrees, measured on the Equator, that is, 297½ leagues at the rate of seventeen and one-half leagues to each degree, a line should be drawn from pole to pole, and to the west of this line in that hemisphere, none of the fleets of Your Majesty nor your vassals can enter or make discoveries or settlements until the pawn or the sale which was made shall be cancelled.[44]

In order to get around this he suggested that as some Spaniards were held in captivity by the natives of the islands, and might have children whose souls were in danger, the King would be morally justified in sending the fleet there to make some pious efforts to ransom them. No trade for profit should be undertaken, but care should be taken that all the information available about what might be discovered should be obtained. A special effort should be made to ascertain the difference in longitude between New Spain and the Isla Filipina. Once the return journey had been clearly established and Philip's rights in the territory pawned had been redeemed, it would be wise to occupy those islands which clearly belonged to him, and to investigate Spain's rights in China.[45]

It seems likely that no action was taken in Spain on this memorial, as apparently the cosmographers, and certainly the jurists at the court, had persuaded themselves that the Philippines were neither in the pawn nor in the territory of the King of Portugal. Velasco was expected to proceed with the original business in hand, which was, namely, to "discover" the Philippines. That such must have been the case appeared in the sequel. February 9, 1561, Velasco was instructed by the King to follow his orders, and March 4 Urdaneta was similarly advised that the Viceroy would make the necessary provisions according to his instructions.[46] Sometime towards the end of 1560 Velasco appointed Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, a native of Guipuzcoa and a friend of Urdaneta, to command the expedition. Legaspi was an acknowledged *hidalgo* of more than fifty years of age and had been a resident of Mexico for twenty-two years, being at that time a widower with sons, a married daughter, and some grown-up daughters ready to marry. He was an honorable and virtuous citizen, of good habits, good judgment and natural common sense, and one who had always given a good account of himself in those matters pertaining to the royal service which had been committed to his charge.[47] Velasco in writing to a similar effect, made the singular statement that "he could not have selected a person more agreeable to Urdaneta, who was the one who was to govern and guide the expedition, since they were of the same country, and relatives and friends."[48]

Urdaneta, in a long memorial, had called attention to the difficulties of fitting out an expedition of such magnitude in an out-of-the-way place like Navidad, and had proposed to remove the building of the ships to Acapulco, saying that more than two years had already passed in attempting to build them in Navidad, and that it would take another year to launch them. At the end he presented his views about the journey, translated herewith in full.[49]

The navigation, which, with God's aid, it seems to me we have to make from this New Spain to the west, should be at the beginning of October, 1561, or not later than the beginning of November. If we can get away by that time, we should sail to the west and southwest 600 leagues to the latitude of 14½° North and from this point directly west in search of San Bartolomé, which is located between 14° and 14½°.[50] It is necessary to endeavor to sight this island and anchor there in order to find out if it is inhabited, and in what part of it the watering-place is, as it is very important that there should be fresh water in this island, even if it be not populated, because it is 690 leagues, more or less, nearer New Spain than the Islands of Maluco. Here water and wood can be taken on the outward journey as well as on the return voyage, if that does not require another course. It would be a very wise thing to settle this island, which would be of much advantage, so that a stop could be made there, even though it be done with criminals who deserve death or perpetual banishment.

This Isla de San Bartolomé having been examined and water and wood taken, a course should be run thence west a quarter southwest one degree and one-half of latitude, that is, to 13°, and thence directly west in search of the Isla de Botalia,[51] one of the Ladrones. Sailing along the parallel of 13°, it cannot be missed. From San Bartolomé to this island it is about 330 leagues. The Ladrones are numerous; thirteen, they say, are inhabited. The inhabitants are naked and poor, they eat rice and have many coconut palms and salt. They fish with hooks made out of tortoise-shell and are crazy for things made of iron. In the canoes with which they navigate they have a counter-weight on one side and palm-mat sails like lateen sails. It is very important to examine this island or some one of the others in order to find out and make certain of the navigation which has been made up to that point, and how far it is to the Malucos and the Islas Filipinas,[52] as in the matter of San Bartolomé an error can be made by encountering some other island which might be in the same latitude but more to the east. Eleven islands of the thirteen are inhabited, that called Botalia being to the north. From the Ladrones to go in quest of the Islas Filipinas, you have to sail west a quarter southwest down to 11° or somewhat less, and when in this latitude at once take a course directly west until the islands themselves are sighted, the distance being a little less than 370 leagues from the Isla Botaa.

If, however, we cannot leave New Spain until after November 10, we should make our navigation from then up to January 20, or a few days thereafter, to the southwest directly in search of New Guinea,[53] until we are in the latitude of 25° or 30° S., if we should not previously discover the coast. If that coast goes on running down to the Antarctic Pole or in the direction of the Strait of Magellan as it is hoped it may, we should find it before we reach 30°, even although it does not trend east a quarter southeast as in the discovered part, but turns from there onward to the southeast. I consider that in the modern charts which have come to New Spain, that coast is laid down more than 100 leagues longer than has really been discovered, but allowing for all this, if it runs to the southeast from the farthest cape discovered to the east, we should fall in with it before reaching 30°. If we sail, however, to 30° and do not discover the coast of New Guinea, we should run from this point in 30° directly west as much as 200 leagues, given propitious weather, and then west, northwest and west to strike the last cape which has been discovered and which is placed in 5° in the account and the map I have of that coast. According to the particular part of the coast of New Guinea, the time at which we shall encounter it and the prevailing winds, we should continue sailing along it, discovering whatever appears, due respect being had to the fact that we must endeavor to reach the Filipinas at the latest by the beginning of November of 1562. It seems that if we leave Acapulco January 20, at the latest, or earlier as stated, with fresh favorable winds to carry us along, we should in a few days cross the Equator, which is what we should endeavor to do so as not to have to pass it in the time of the Equinox, as at that time it is customary to encounter great calms under the Line, which an attempt must be made to avoid. Sailing along in south latitude at the time just stated, we should have plenty of time to discover the said coast of New Guinea and many other islands if there are any there.

If it should turn out that we cannot leave the coast of New Spain some time in January to sail toward the south as just stated, we should wait until the month of March or later, until we have good winds with which to sail on the side of the Arctic Pole or north, following the coast of New Spain, which trends toward the west-northwest. Given propitious winds for this purpose we should sail, although perhaps somewhat distant from the coast,[54] up to the latitude of 34° or more, where we should endeavor to examine the country on the coast which Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo discovered. Taking what was necessary of what might be found on that coast and having communicated with the Indians, although only by signs, about a big water beyond toward the land side, of which they had given information to Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, we should follow the coast in search of it, in order to see if that water might be sea and if the end of this land be there.[55] We should soon know if it is salt or fresh water and if God should be pleased that we discover what it is, we should take the direction from there towards the west on a southwest course down to 37°

or 35° of latitude,[56] sailing directly west from this point and discovering what there is between this land and China, to a point close to the Islands of Japan, if we should not discover something sooner of such importance that we would be contented with it. From there we should make our navigation for the Islas Filipinas without running farther west. If it should happen that we could not follow this west coast of New Spain we should go up to a latitude of 37° and from there run to the west, as stated, as far as the meridian of the Isla Botaha, one of the Ladrones, and then take our course to the said Ladrones in order not to miss the navigation from there, but to go from there in search of the Filipinas; or we could go from the point which I spoke of in 30° odd in search of the Filipinas according to the point in which we should find ourselves. Thus we should make our navigation.

I have described these different courses in this manner in case we should not be able to leave in the beginning of November, at which time we should leave New Spain,[57] because if we leave here later, we shall not arrive there in time to comply with what Your Majesty orders and be able to prepare for the return, as it is necessary that we leave there with the first winds available for the return without waiting for the free and good winds for sailing here to begin, because these have always been found to last but a short time. For this reason we must leave there at such a time that when the good winds do begin they should take us if possible on this side of the Ladrones, and we should not wait in the ports of the Islas Filipinas for the good winds, which are those from the southwest, even if we have to make the first part of the journey by force of arms.

It will be seen that Urdaneta did not outline in this memorial the return course to New Spain afterwards followed by the *San Pedro,* but contemplated sailing in the direction of the Ladrones. It seems evident, then, that he did not expect to reach the northern coast of New Spain in 35° or 40° at that time. This seems still more probable from the fact that if he had he would have suggested hunting for the "Big Water" on that return trip instead of looking for it by repeating the experience of Cabrillo in sailing up the coast from the south. It is true that in speaking of the return route, he hinted at the possibility of taking another course than the one by way of the Ladrones, and it might be considered that the way back by the northeast was a secret which he did not wish to divulge at that time. There is nothing in the account of Cabrillo's voyage to indicate that he had heard anything about a large body of water. The only statements in his narrative which might be considered to relate to one are a reference to a river to the north, evidently some story conveyed by signs by the Indians on the Santa Barbara Channel, and the suggestion that somewhere between 41° and 43° there were signs of a large river opposite on the coast.

During the long delay of almost four years before the expedition finally departed, Urdaneta must have changed his ideas about the objects of the expedition, or perhaps, better said, he introduced some of his own to which he had made no previous reference. It appears that he now had the idea of settling New Guinea if it was found to be a good country, but if not, of looking for some small islands that Magellan had discovered in that neighborhood. A controversy was carried on between him and Carrion who insisted that as he had been on the voyage when New Guinea was discovered by Ortiz de Retes, and as during all the time between May and September only negroes had been seen and but little food and rice could be obtained to eat, the expedition should proceed to the Philippines. Urdaneta, however, resolutely stated that he would not accompany the expedition if it was to proceed to those islands. Carrion wrote that as Urdaneta was an intimate friend and countryman of Legaspi, the

latter wished to please him, and as he had had no experience in such matters and knew nothing about navigation, he was unable to distinguish who was right, and followed the advice of the Father in everything.[58]

The Viceroy apparently had accepted, to a certain extent, the plan of Urdaneta, at least in so far that the expedition was to go in quest of New Guinea, but lacking the instruction he had drawn up, it is not known whether he contemplated making a settlement there or not. Our only official knowledge of the change of plan is derived from a letter of the Audiencia.[59] As Velasco had died July 31, this body was now charged with the government of the country, and as the expedition had not yet left, it fell to them to make final arrangements. They therefore drew up a set of instructions for Legaspi in which they changed what they stated was Velasco's previous instruction to proceed in search of New Guinea, to one ordering him to follow the route of Villalobos and take a direct course to the Philippines. The Audiencia founded their reasons for the change on the cedula of September 24, 1559, and that of February 9, 1561, in which it was declared that the Philippines were outside of the pawn, Urdaneta to the contrary notwithstanding. They also alleged that although the discovery of New Guinea might be important, especially if it were as rich as reported, yet it was not advisable to send an expedition there at that time, as it was not only a new route but was out of the way, thus creating delay in beginning the return journey; besides, two of the ships were so large that they would incur great risk in sailing along new coasts. From this it seems that the opinion of Carrion finally decided the day, although from a letter written September 11 he did not seem to be aware of the change.[60] The new instructions had already, September 1, been delivered to Legaspi, sealed, with an order not to open them until he was 100 leagues at sea.[61] He took the oath before the Audiencia to guard and comply with everything contained in them, and shortly set out for Navidad.

When the sealed document was opened, November 25, the friars said that if they had known about the change they would not have come on the expedition, but in view of the orders of the Audiencia, of what Legaspi told them, and their loyalty to the King, they would conform to the wish of the General.[62] It seems strange that Urdaneta and his companions could have been deceived about the real object of the expedition; he certainly could not have forgotten the original orders of the King. Don Juan Suarez de Peralta, an eye witness to the preparations, wrote that the forces were raised with the cry that they were going to China, which induced many to go, as the country was known to be rich.[63] China in those days in New Spain meant China proper and the Philippines and surrounding islands, but it is possible that Velasco had given out that the expedition was going to the mainland of China in order, in compliance with his orders, to hide the real object as much as possible. The main motive for the secrecy observed was to prevent the Portuguese from finding out the destination, it being no doubt feared that if they knew this they would take some action in the Moluccas to prevent the occupation when the fleet arrived. It can hardly

be believed that Velasco would have dared to side-track the expedition simply to please Urdaneta and in defiance of his positive orders. What seems most likely is that he deferred to Urdaneta's opinion and treated his plans to go to New Guinea as a mere subsidiary enterprise. He would have insisted just as strongly as the Audiencia did that Legaspi proceed finally to the Philippines.[64]

The expedition consisted of two three-masted ships, the *San Pedro* (the *capitana*), of more than 500 tons burden, the *San Pablo,* of some 300, two *pataches,* the *San Juan* of about 80 tons, and the *San Lucas* of some 40 tons, and a small *fragata* towed by the *San Pedro*. The pilots of the *Capitana* were Esteban Rodriguez, chief pilot, and Pierres Plun, a Frenchman; those of the *San Pablo* were Jayme Martinez Fortun and Diego Martin. Juan de la Isla commanded the *San Juan,* and had his brother Rodrigo de Espinosa as pilot; the *San Lucas* was commanded by Don Alonso de Arellano and had as pilot Lope Martin. On board there were 333 person all told, including five Augustinian friars, Urdaneta (the prior), Andrés de Aguirre, Diego de Herrera, Martin de Rada and Pedro de Gamboa.[65] Sail was made November 21, 1564.

The voyage proceeded without any untoward incident, beyond a series of squabbles between the pilots and Urdaneta as to the distance traveled and the position of the ships. The Philippines were finally reached February 13, the first land touched being the Isla Samar.[66] A month later the fleet reached Bohol, where two parties were sent out on exploring expeditions. April 27 a move was made to the Isla de Cebú, where there was quite a good sized native settlement on the east side, and here Legaspi made his headquarters until 1571. Two days after the first land was reached, possession was taken by Andrés de Ibarra. Five days later Legaspi amplified the act by taking possession not only of that island, but of all those surrounding. Further acts of possession were taken February 23, March 8, March 14, April 15 at Bohol, and at Cebú May 8.[67] If any other evidence than that set out in the original cedula of September 24, 1559, were necessary to prove that the object of the expedition was to take possession of the Philippines, these acts would be sufficient.

The Spaniards received a very poor reception from the natives. In spite of all the secrecy practiced regarding the destination of the expedition, the Portuguese had found out about it and advised the commander in Tidore, who had organized a party which had gone to the Philippines and, having given out that they were Spaniards, had raided the native villages and carried off many of the inhabitants as slaves. As a consequence, whenever the Spaniards appeared the natives fled, carrying their food with them, so that it was almost impossible for the Spaniards to obtain any. Little gold was found, and that little was mostly in the form of ornaments. The only cinnamon discovered was on the north side of Mindanao. Altogether, the outlook was anything but cheerful. Legaspi, therefore, April 5, while the ships were at anchor at Bohol, called a council to consider the question as to whether or not a settlement should be made. All agreed that such should be done except the friars, who were not willing to sign the document, stating that they would not pass an opinion on

the question. At the same meeting Legaspi asked the friars what ship or ships were the best ones to send back to New Spain in case a settlement should be made. They were unanimous in stating that only one ship should be sent, namely the *San Pedro,* as she was the best, swiftest and most seaworthy.[68]

The letter of Charles to the Council and the correspondence of Philip with Urdaneta and the Viceroy bear witness to the importance the government attached to the finding of a way back from the Philippines to New Spain. The instructions issued to Legaspi by the Audiencia provided for about every possible contingency which might arise; near the end, occupying Paragraphs Nos. 60 to 64, are those covering the return voyage, which he was ordered to undertake very shortly after reaching his destination.

> As you are aware that Fray Andrés de Urdaneta is going on this voyage by the orders of His Majesty, you will see to it that he comes back in one of the ships you send for the discovery of the return route, whether you return to New Spain with any ship or ships yourself, leaving behind some captain with forces, or whether you send some other person, you yourself remaining there. Besides faith in the Lord, confidence is felt that he will be the principal factor in finding the return route to New Spain on account of his experience, the knowledge he has of the weather in those parts, and his other qualities. It is therefore advisable that Fray Andrés de Urdaneta should come in whatever ships you send here, and that he shall be in the ship and with the captain he shall select. In this ship nothing shall be put, because in this way it is believed that Our Master, the Lord, and His Majesty will be served[69] and you will be at once aided with forces and whatever else is necessary.[70]

Indeed, the importance of the discovery of a return route could not be overestimated, if, as we may well believe, Legaspi was expected to make a settlement in the Philippines or their neighborhood. As Spanish vessels were debarred by the contract of 1529 from sailing around to the East by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, a colony in the Philippines could be supplied with reinforcements and munitions of war only by way of the Strait of Magellan or from New Spain. The former route was entirely too long to be of any practical use, so the only alternative was to send them from Mexico. Therefore, to be able to exist, the settlers in the Philippines must have access to that country.

Two expeditions from Spain and three from the west coast of America had now reached the Moluccas. Five attempts to return to New Spain had been made, all unsuccessful from being undertaken with insufficient preparations and supplies, at inappropriate seasons or on impossible courses. Nevertheless, the very first, that of the *Trinidad,* affords evidence that the pilots correctly calculated the proper course to pursue, or else, as Herrera states, took that course because they could not sail east on account of the prevailing winds from that quarter. In the north Atlantic the prevailing winds in the Tropics are also from the east, while in the latitude of the forties they are from the west. It is not unlikely therefore that the *Trinidad's* pilots laid their course to the north and northeast with the expectation of encountering westerly winds when above the thirtieth parallel. Bernardo de la Torre had taken the same course and had returned with the conviction that this was the correct one to follow. When Villalobos' officers objected to his agreement with the Portuguese in 1545, Martin de Islares presented a written protest in which he insisted that the *San Juan* be again prepared for a return voyage to New Spain, saying: "I have a

pilot, some soldiers and sailors who offer, as servants and followers of your worship, to make the voyage in this ship. It is a public and well-known fact that this voyage can be made, even you yourself have said so many times; the pilot who desires to go (Alonso Hernandez Tarifeño) asserts it and dares to undertake it as one who went before with Captain Bernardo de la Torre on the discovery of this voyage and as one who has had that experience. Captain Bernardo de la Torre also offers to go and says he will make the voyage, even as a ship's boy, as he knows what he has discovered." [71]

Fray Gerónimo de Santiesteban, Carrion, Escalante Alvarado and Ortiz de Retes, who had accompanied Villalobos, had returned to Mexico and must all have been well known to Urdaneta. He himself had been in the Moluccas and witnessed Saavedra's two unsuccessful efforts to return by sailing east and southeast. To attribute to him, therefore, as do most of his biographers, the wonderful idea that a successful return could be made by sailing northeast from the Philippines to some point not far distant from the American coast, and then running down to Acapulco with the northwest wind, is entirely erroneous. Urdaneta did not even have to speculate about the prevailing winds on the northwest coast, as Cabrillo had found out that those were from the northwest as high as he went, 43°. All that he may have contributed to the solution of the problem was a better understanding of the best season in which to set sail.

That Urdaneta did not work out the course to take is then apparent; his knowledge of it was no monopoly and, in fact, he was even not the first to discover it, if we can credit the account of the voyage of Don Alonso de Arellano. Even if this be rejected as fictitious, the fact remains that Arellano knew all about the proper course to take, because in his account the route he asserts he followed is in general that afterwards taken by the *San Pedro,* and as he reached Acapulco two months before the *San Pedro* he could have known nothing of her movements. The truth probably is that every pilot in Legaspi's fleet and many of the officers knew all about the best way to return. Carrion later asserted that he laid out the course to be followed on both the outer and return voyages.[72]

Arellano was in command of a small vessel of some forty tons burden, called at that time a *patache,* and had a crew of about twenty men. A *patache* was a dispatch boat or tender for a larger vessel, and the *San Lucas,* as she was named, was no doubt intended to accompany the fleet in that capacity. It is even possible that Legaspi expected to send her back to New Spain. A few days after leaving Navidad, Arellano deserted the fleet with his pilot, Lope Martin, going on to the Philippines on his own account, and as the *San Lucas* was a much faster sailer than the other ships, he reached them some time before the rest of the fleet. From the attending circumstances it seems likely that this desertion had no other object in view than to make the return before Legaspi had a chance to send another vessel, thus forestalling him and gaining the credit for the discovery. As is now well known, the voyage west to the Philippines did not entail any great difficulties, but the design to return from there,

in such a small vessel without adequate supplies and equipment, must be considered as one of the most matchless feats of daring in the annals of the sea.

April 22, 1565, Arellano set sail from the islands, taking a course to the north, as he said they had a northeast wind. The wind must have shifted to the south, however, because he later said that he sailed to the east and east-northeast. When 31° was reached, an island the size of a small house was discovered, so high he said that he doubted if there was a tower in the world higher. This could only have been the singular island known as "Lot's Wife" in lat. 29° 50′, and long. 142° 23′ E.[73] Already we see that his observation was one degree too high. At this point in the story we begin to encounter some of the wonderful things which were seen on this voyage, as he stated that there were some pelicans on this island larger than ostriches. The course generally was towards the north, until a latitude of 40° was reached. No mention is made of a change of the wind to the west; it is only stated that they sailed along the fortieth parallel, and at the expiration of eight days, when an opportunity came to make an observation, found themselves in 43°, having been, in their opinion, carried up by the currents. Arellano here mentioned the interesting fact that his map extended only to 40° and it was therefore impossible to prick his position on it each day when above that latitude.[74] He also stated that according to his map the coast of China ended very near New Spain, about 530 leagues from the island he called "Pago Mayor." Here on the fortieth parallel he thought they were about 300 leagues from the coast of New Spain, and close to the coast of China, because they saw birds and driftwood.[75] In the middle of June, it snowed until midday; it was so cold that the oil in a demijohn froze so hard that it would not run out, and came out like lard when some heat was applied to it. All kinds of curious objects were seen, black birds which gave out frightful cries such as had never been heard before, sea-dogs which had feet and hands and fox-like ears, and barked, and porpoises the size of cows. They had trouble with rats, which gnawed through two of the water casks.

Finally, when they were in about 38°, they had a strong northeast wind for twenty days.[76] They made a course to the east-southeast, and when the wind left them they found themselves in only 27°. At this point the pilot estimated himself to be 100 leagues from the coast of New Spain, the wind being in the north. Arellano therefore ordered him to take a course to the east a quarter northeast, because of the variation the pilot alleged there was in the compass. As they were now nearing land, a good lookout was ordered to be kept, and finally on the daylight watch of July 17 this was sighted by the pilot.

In seeing it we gave many thanks to Our Lord, Jesus Christ, for the mercy He had shown us. When noon came and we were near land, the pilot observed the sun in 27° 45′. The land was a point of a large *ensenada,* in which the Isla Cocones lies. He therefore gave orders to run before the northwest wind on a southeast course, as so runs the coast. Sailing along, this day at midnight a head wind from the southeast struck us, which was the reason we did not run on a reef in front of us. When day dawned we found ourselves close to it and gave thanks to Our Lady for the mercies she had shown us in giving us that contrary wind. Thus we went following the coast with favorable winds and with southeast winds which made us anchor near it. Three or four days of southeast winds having passed, the winds from the west came back again, so we went running along the coast until Saturday, July 28, being then as far on as the Punta de la California.[77]

Having passed this, the ship was assailed by terrific storms during which the men suffered severely. All were so afflicted with scurvy that they could scarcely manage the sails, and in consequence the vessel nearly foundered. July 31, they found themselves up the Gulf of California in 25½° and 140 leagues from Navidad, which they finally reached August 9. After the arrival both Arellano and Martin seem to have gone up to Mexico, where on November 22 they made a sworn declaration regarding their voyage.

The lack of precision about this account and the superabundance of marvelous stories related by Arellano create some doubt as to his veracity. As will be seen hereafter, the usual stories current about him are to a large extent fiction, and although he had manifestly deserted his chief, there is no record that he received any punishment. On the other hand, it seems that he never received any reward. In 1575 he was still seeking a gratification, claiming that it had been his lot to be the first to discover the route from China, as was recorded in the papers which he had presented to the Council of the Indies. He stated that during the three years he had passed in Spain on this business he had spent all his money, besides that of his relatives and friends, and that he had never received any remuneration. He asked to be appointed general of the Philippine navigation with a competent salary; something, he said, manifestly and justly due him.[78]

It is very difficult to make out just where he sighted the northwest coast. Even the reference to the Isla Cocones, certainly a mistake for "Cazones," is no help, as it is not known exactly where this island was supposed to be. It might perhaps be justly inferred from Arellano's remarks about his map, that he had one on which the peninsula had been drawn from one like that of Domingo del Castillo, which purports to have been made in Mexico in 1541.[79] Of all the early maps showing the northwest coast this is peculiar in placing Cabo del Engaño in about 27½°. Between that cape and Cedros, two islands and the name Punta de Casones appear. Perhaps Arellano thought the point he saw was Cabo del Engaño. The latitudes on the Castillo map in this neighborhood are, however, at least one and one-half degrees too low, and consequently he was nowhere near Cabo del Engaño, unless his observation was much too low, something quite unheard of at that time. Nevertheless, his reference to the great bay would seem to indicate that he was referring to the one now known as "Sebastian Vizcaino." He was, however, undoubtedly farther south, and, allowing for a possible excess of one degree in the observations of his pilot, it seems most likely that his point was Punta San Hipolito, especially as the following night the *San Lucas* nearly ran on a reef, which could hardly have been any other than Abreojos in 26° 46′. Everything indicates that the map he had was not the same as those carried on the *San Pedro* on her return voyage. They undoubtedly showed Cabrillo's discoveries, and therefore must have extended as far north as 43°.

As soon as Legaspi felt that he had obtained a footing in the islands and was able to fit out a ship, he proceeded to comply with his peremptory instruc-

tions to send one back. The *San Pedro* having been chosen, he placed her under the command of his grandson, Felipe de Salçedo. Esteban Rodriguez, the chief pilot of the fleet, embarked on her in that capacity, and as second pilot, Rodrigo de Espinosa, otherwise known as Rodrigo de la Isla Espinosa. Fray Andrés de Aguirre accompanied Urdaneta. The only documents extant which furnish any details regarding the voyage are the logs of Esteban Rodriguez and Rodrigo de Espinosa. Neither contains much more than dry statements of the courses, distances and latitudes, although Espinosa occasionally entered a few of some interest. Urdaneta himself, in his unpublished story, had very little to say about it, if we may conclude that the following passage is all that he wrote on the subject:

> About the return from Zubu[80] to New Spain what there is to say is that we left the place where our friends remained, June 1, 1565, and September 18 saw the first land and the coast of New Spain, an island named "San Salvador" in 33° 50′. October 1 we arrived off the Puerto de Navidad and, not wishing to enter, passed on to the Puerto de Acapulco, as that is a better port and is nearer Mexico by more than forty-five leagues. On the return, what with contrary winds and sickness, we passed through great hardships. Sixteen died before anchoring in the port, and four others afterwards, besides an Indian of the Ladrones whom the General sent, and three other Indians from Zubu. Felipe de Salçedo, the grandson of the General, came as captain of the ship and carried himself very well in the discharge of his duty.[81]

As Rodriguez' log extends only to September 14, that of Espinosa is herewith reproduced in facsimile from the original in the archives in Seville.[82] A translation follows, the beginning and end in abstract only, as such parts contain little of interest.

Derrotero del Piloto Rodrigo Ruiz Espinosa de la Vuelta de las Islas del Poniente

En el Nombre de Jesus y de su Bendita Madre / Relacion y Derrotero hecho por Rodrigo Ruiz Espinosa Piloto Real de la Nao nombrada San Juan de Aquiz Capitana de la Armada que por mandado del Rey Nuestro Señor Don Felipe Segundo de este nombre Rey de las Españas y de las Islas del Poniente por su Mandado hizo el Excelentissimo Señor Don Luis de Velasco Visorey y Capitan General de la Nueva España y de la dicha Armada que por Capitan en la dicha Nao nombrado San Pedro por Piloto de ella Juan Rodriguez Piloto Mayor de la Carrera de Filipinas Vecino de la Ciudad de Sevilla en la Collacion de Santa Maria la Blanca Derrotero que es como se sigue

Viernes por la mañana Primero dia del mes de Octubre de mil y quinientos y sesenta y cinco años salimos del Puerto de Acapulco para seguir nuestro Viaje con la Buena Ventura para la Nueva España. Salimos fuera de la Isla de Acapulco y la Isla de Acapulco se mantiene en la Costa del Sur de Acapulco, que hay entre la una Isla y la otra una Legua y Media Poco mas o menos y en parte que habra un tiro de Arcabuz de la una Isla a la otra y tenemos por Aviso que de Acapulco a Zacatula hay Veinte Leguas y en todas estas Veinte Leguas no hay Isla ninguna ni Puerto ni Ensenada ni Abrigo ninguno para Navios sino que es todo Costa Brava y Peligrosa y Salimos fuera de Acapulco Viernes Primero dia del mes de Octubre de mil y quinientos y sesenta y cinco años y Salimos fuera de Acapulco Domingo de Mañana y la Costa hay desde Acapulco hasta Zacatula al Nordeste y Sudueste y Salimos fuera de Acapulco con Nordeste y Sudueste por la Canal de la Isla de Acapulco que es entre la Isla y la Costa del Sur y no tiene Peligro ninguno sino que es limpio y sin Peligro ninguno hasta Zacatula y la Costa hay desde Acapulco hasta Zacatula al Nordeste y Sudueste

de Va Xalana xcarbbecae entre esta y ysleta y la otra xcabuyo que esta la para
te deleste. tiene vna yola redonda y pequeña llena xcarbolera. yendo
yo uerumdo entre estos dos yslas Veras vna tierra alta que esta donde se
Rematan las dezeguas arriba dichas que es la costa de la yola de
abuyo arriba dicha Veras vna tierra alta llena de monte y enlaçe
da de sierra, que cae sobre la mar Veras vna ensenada grande en que dizen
Los yndios que traemos entre dichos salen para canueua spaña que ay vn
passaje Va a tan daya y alli se remata la yola xcabuyo, a cabo de
te passase hazen dos yslettas que te parecen ara de la tierra firme y alli
es toda vna. y amos a dos leguas poco mas buelue la costa de la ysla felip
pina. que es la yola a donde esta tan daya la abuelta de leste, aqui donde
buelue la costa la abuelta de leste tomee sol en .xxj. grados y dos tercios
Y aqui veras luego dos yoletas pegadas a costa costa, Va leste oeste
Y mas la buelta del norte. a mo legua y media veras vna yola alta y re
donda. y en lo mas alto della hazen dos tetas la vna mayor de la otra
Y en esta yola de la parte del sur hazen hazen vna cabaña, esta yola es pobla
da por que estos vienen a sacar en ella mas de la parte de leste de ella ser ia en
muchas yslas de ellas pequeñas y de ellas grandes, mas ternas por aviso
que esta dicha yola de la parte de gueste de ella hazen vna ysleta de piedra
que se haze a manera de tres cabeças esta ysleta de piedra esta junto a la ysla
muy yola Y parece que ay passaje entre esta y ysleta y la de quora mas al
oeste de esta dicha yola como seis leguas ay vna ysla ancha de xx. leguas sur
Y veras en ella muchas cabanas y es a parecer muy ancha. porque yo
en dicho pilotto no vide el cabo Y la abuelta de norte sueste / de esta dicha yola
a la de cubu que es la abuelta del sur ay ocho o quatro / o cinco yoletas pequeñas
nas. de a yoleta que tiene a los dos tetas / fuimos y vimos gouernando al norte
Y guiamos sobre la quarta del nor oeste y passada esta dicha yola luego vimos
otra yola al norte oeste esta dicha yola es asi tamaña como la de xcatrau dicha
Y la abuelta del gueste veras otra yola algo mayor, entre esta y sla que
es de la parte del oeste y la que esta de la parte de leste pasamos canal ancho
uerumdo al norte y guiamos sobre el nor oeste, entre vna yola y la otra
a vra como tres leguas. Y luego descubrimos vna tierra que traya parte
mos como Rumbo que yvamos gouernando. que es la yola alta mas de felipi
na. y estando leste gueste a medio punta, tomee sol en .xxj. grados y tres
quartos Y fuimos la abuelta del hueste. Salia vna gran ensenada de
ancho esta punta que tiene .xx. grados y tres quartos. se hazen vna yola pequeña
ña que esta de nor este sur. que della a la yola alta como vn quarto de legua
entre estas dos yoletas y la yola de felipina vimos siete o ocho peñas de leyn
dios pescando, entre esta yoleta y otra que esta de la parte del oeste
de ella como tres leguas Pasa de gale con san pedro, de aqueste a yola aque

xela parte xel Veste xesta ysleta la buelta xel norueste ve rase a moaa nos leguas
una ysla grande que tiene dos bolcanes altos estando con la punta xela ysla
xelos bolcanes leste veste nos domo una corriente la buelta xel sudueste ma
xe xeste cabo xe siete leguas y nos metio entre estas ysletas y yaci en la una xellas
surgimos questa una mas acerca xela ysla xelos bolcanes. yaci frente el
baruelo tierra xAvmaragua, y sacado que bue lagente xe la tierra nos vi
nos enque aci xe cabalgaron mmy mala vn sollado. y a mocas to vi la
gente fueronen pos xellos enque sse fueron huyendo. y se metieron en vn rio
te que temian y aci xe xe la gente que auian muerto dos cristianos y nos dios enque
vinieron xe xe mamparan el fuerte. xesta ysla las pusimos nombre el pri
xe xe aci nos huyimos xe aca xe la gouernacion xe leste norueste porque el viento era
norte y aci nos dieron cotra vez las aguientes. enque fuymos a surgir xe la
ysla que esta xe la banda xel sueste xe i ysla felipina. que la ysla que
esta xe este sueste. a la ysleta que esta arrimada a la ysla felipina que
xa nde tomee el sol en doze grados y tres quartos xe esta ysleta donde agora sur
gimos se le puso Nombre la asenada, esta ysla es bien poblada aqui tenemos
xe leguinos puercos y cocos y agua aunque auia poca esta ysleta tie
ne como dos leguas y media de norte sur, xesta ysleta a mi da la asenada yo fue
bes a siete xe este presente mes nos hizimos xe aqui la vela. y fuymos la
xe rumbo a dela ysla felipina para xe sembocar y seguir nro viaje fuy
mos gouernando la buelta xel norueste. y fuymos a tomar la ysla felipina

12 Sabado a nueue xel dicho tomee el sol en trezegrados largos que aquios donde se
rumata la ysla felipina y luego bueue el a esta la buelta xeleste, xe qui
xa donde se remata esta ysla felipina ay dos cotrias y ysletas pequenas hue
buelta xel norueste como siete leguas hasta la ysla xelos bolcanes,
en medio xestos seis o siete leguas esta vna ysleta pequenita, entre esta
ysleta y la felipina salimos este presente diagouernando xeleste quarta
xel norueste arrimados a la buelta xeleste. xesta felipina como diez leguas
y aci se remata la ysla xela felipina xela parte xeleste

13 Domingo siguiente a medio dia parescia la tierra xela felipina a vna
14 Vista y la marque demoraua xel sueste quarta xel sudueste y estaua
xella como diez leguas

15 Lunes conoscedicho tomee el sol en trezegrados y tres quartos y este dia
32 se hizo de angladura xel nauio veinta y dos leguas xeleste quarta xel nordes
te, esta angladura ascentriendo a cosa xel domingo a medio dia agora hacecunce
xe medio dia

18 Martes tomee el sol en catorzegrados y vn sesmo y se hizo de angladura xel
28 nauio veinte y ocho leguas por elleste norueste

15 Miercoles siguiente hizo de angladura aquin ce leguas por elleste quarta xel norueste
15 Jueues siguiente hizo de angladura por el mismo rumbo atras dicho otras xv leguas

11 Biernes siguiente me partí de la garachico y tomé la vía del sur y
12 hize al nauío de quinze leguas

11 Sabado siguiente tomé el sol en diez y siete grados de largo hize al nauío de quinze
25 leguas por el nordeste quarta del este

11 Domingo siguiente a diez y siete del dicho tomé el sol en diez y ocho grados de largo
25 y hize al nauío de quinze leguas

11 Lunes siguiente tomé el sol en diez y nueue grados y hize de quinze leguas
30 leguas por el nordeste quarta del este, porque hacia el viento sueste

11 Martes siguiente hize de quinze leguas al nauío veinte y dos leguas por el este
22 quarta del nordeste, aquí me dio el viento mas largo

16 11 Miercoles siguiente hize de quinze leguas por el este

11 Jueues dia de corpus xpi que fueron veinte y uno del dicho estando y del dicho puerto
punto de la gomera donde tres leguas la vía un farallon por la banda de este trobo
que parece a un barco que tiene surto, este farallon en confirme a punto que
traygan mi carta está en altura de veinte grados, porque este dia no pude
tomar el sol mi cuitro dos o tres dias por causa de los aguaceros, este varo
tiene de ámplidor de dos leguas y medio de nordeste sudueste y tiene
anisso que este varo dicho hace una puesta muy pequeña y lo demas una arrai
25 fe que recibe ha mas en el. este dia hize de quinze leguas al nauío veinte y
300. le. a nueue leguas este dicho varo esta de la punta de
de sabu laes felipinas. que por otro nombre tenemos puesto punta de este espiritu
240. le santo. de la parte del este, cxl leguas y está nordeste sudueste quarta del
este veste con la dicha punta de este espiritu santo confirme a punto que está
ya en mi carta

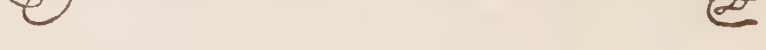
11 Viernes siguiente hize de quinze leguas al nauío veinte leguas por este nordeste
20 11 Sabado siguiente hize de quinze leguas diez y ocho leguas por este quarta
18 del nordeste este dia nos dio este viento en el sueste

11 Domingo siguiente hize al nauío de quinze leguas por el mismo Rumbo arri
18 ba dicho diez y ocho leguas

14 11 Lunes siguiente hize de quinze leguas por el mismo Rumbo catorze leguas
16 11 martes siguiente hize de quinze leguas al nauío diez y seis leguas por este
12 11 Miercoles sig.te hize al nauío de quinze leguas por el nordeste y quarta de este
20 11 Jueues sig.te hize al nauío de quinze leguas veinte leguas por el mismo Rumbo arriba dho
30 11 Viernes siguiente hize de quinze leguas por el nordeste treinta leguas
11 Sabado siguiente hize de quinze leguas al nauío por el Rumbo arriba dho
20 veinte leguas desde que salimos de las islas de felipinas hasta este presente dia
que a puesto este presente mes de contino tuuimos de los vientos punte
— ros por la banda de este trobo

11 Domingo primero de Julio tomé el sol en veinte y quatro grados y un tercio y
15 estoi a nordeste este dicho viento en el sueste hize de quinze leguas por el
nordeste

x Lunes siguiente tomeel sol en veinte y ocho grados y vntercio he hecho de ocidental
24. sura veinte y quatro leguas para el norueste quarta del norte
x Martes tomiel sol en veinte y siete grados largos he hecho de ocidentadura treinta
27 leguas para el mismo Rumbo
x Miercoles he hecho de ocidentadura al nauio veinte leguas para el nornoroeste cuarta
20 dia tomeele estrella del norte en veinte y nueue grados menos vn quarto
x Jueues tomee sol en veinte y nueue grados y vn tercio y he hecho de ocidentadu
ra veinte y quatro leguas para el nornoroeste, este dia nos dio el viento noroeste
29 noroeste y viramos la abuelta del sueste, y este dicho dia anos/vnze nos dio
el viento enel sueste y viramos la buelta del noroeste
x Viernes siguiente tomeel sol entreinta grados y he hecho de ocidentadura diez y
17 siete leguas para el noroeste quarta del norte
x Sabado siguiente tomeel sol en treinta grados y dos tercios y he hecho al nauio de
14 ocidentadura catorze leguas para el noroeste quarta al norte
x Domingo siguiente he hecho de ocidentadura al nauio/ocho leguas este dia nos
8 dio el viento enel sueste y fue rodando para el sueste hasta ponerse el
sur sueste y ansi fuimos sobre vn mismo para este
x Lunes siguiente tomeel sol entreinta y vn grados menos vn quinto y este dia
8 he hecho de ocidentadura diez e/ocho leguas
30 x Martes he hecho de ocidentadura treinta leguas para este
x Miercoles siguiente tomeel sol entreinta grados y dos tercios he hecho de oci
45 dentadura quarenta y cinco leguas para este
x Jueues siguiente, tomeel sol entreinta grados y vn tercio este dia vino
mos/la altura yendo para este con acauar que nos dio teniendo agua/ay y
38 este dia he hecho de ocidentadura treinta y/ocho leguas
27 x Viernes siguiente e hecho de ocidentadura veinte y siete leguas al este
x Sabado siguiente tomeel sol entreinta y vn grados menos vn seysmo y este
dia he hecho de ocidentadura al nauio para este quarta del nordeste, este
dia nos acaso el viento. de manera que fuymos sobre vn mismo al nor
noroeste hasta dos/o tres/oras de la noche y luego nos fue acascando
de manera que fue arriendo para el noroeste. hasta el domingo para mmm
y luego nos fue mas acascando el viento, que fue que sobre vn mismo al nor
quarta el noroeste este propio dia que fue domingo antes de fue este dia
tomeele estrella del norte entreinta y vn grados y medio y tambien tome
el sol entreinta y vn grados y dos tercios y he hecho de ocidentadura al nauio de
22 into y dos leguas conforme al dicho Rumbos que arriba tengo dicho, Lunes
nos dio el viento escasso y fuimos sobre vendo al norte y este quarta del noroeste
y este dio nos dio el viento al noroeste y luego viramos la buelta del sueste
x Martes tomeele estrella del norte entreinta y dos grados y vn seysmo y vi
9 1/4 10 miamos sobre vn mismo al sueste y fuimos el camino del sueste porque la agu
ja nordeste traia vna quarta de casa y/otra que la nao se abatia por



Manera que el camino del ese Sueste hazia mas el camino del Sueste

11 (Miercoles X.mo dia. ansubi de vna buelta y otra ganaria lana o ango[r]meal
17 punto quatro ya en my carta la buelta del leste diez & siete leguas, cot. dia nos
dio el buento ene leste vnas vezes mas largo y otras mas cocado ya[n]sigica
mos la buelta del nor.este y andabamos ango[r]mea arriba dho

12 Juebes a.nte que fue de dia tomee el estrella del norte en treinta y dos grados y
medio, a medio dia tomee el sol entreinta y dos grados y un terç.o largos, fe
18 dia & he de a[n]gladura al nauio diez & ocho leguas por el nor.oeste

13 Biernes veinte de dho tomee el sol entreinta y tres grados y treis quintos
20 & he de a[n]gladura veinte leguas por el norte quarta del nor.oeste

14 Sabado siguiente he de a[n]gladura veinte & dos leguas al norte quarta del no
.oeste y este dia en la noche tomee la estrella del norte entre in tuy a[n]co gra
dos y medio

15 Domingo dia de la madalena tomee el sol en treinta y seis grados y un terç.o
22 largos & he de a[n]gladura veinte & dos leguas por el nor.nor.oeste, cot. dia
nos dio el buento ene sur y fuymos sur.ueste por el leste, cot. dia tome
cle estrella del norte. intreinta y seis grados y medio cocado

16 Lunes por a[n]miniu tomee el estrella del norte en treinta y seis grados y m
14 largos y tambien tomee este dia el sol en treinta y seis grados y un
quarto & he de a[n]gladura catorze leguas

22 17 Martes & he de a[n]gladura al nauio veinte & dos leguas por el este

18 Miercoles dia de señor Santiago tomee el sol entreinta y seis grados y este
quedo mi nuimos por el este a causa que el nor.oeste tan bajo agujas, cot. dia
32 he he de a[n]gladura treinta y dos leguas por el este

19 Juebes veinte y seis del dicho que fue dia de señora santa ana he he de
27 a[n]gladura veinte y siete leguas

20 Biernes he he de a[n]gladura al nauio por el este treinta leguas y parte
30 del camino a cest.e quarta del nor.oeste

21 Sabado tomee el sol entreinta y seis grados y tres quartos & he de a[n]gla
35 dura al nauio treinta y a[n]co leguas por el nor.oeste, por que el buento
era sueste y tomaua de sesgo

22 Domingo he he de a[n]gladura diez & siete leguas por el este quarta del nor
17 .oeste cot. dia nos dio el buento al sudsueste

23 Lunes tomee el sol entreinta y siete grados y un quinto y he he de a[n]gla
10 dura al nauio diez leguas por el este

24 Martes abrimos calma, y este dia en la tarde abrimos buento al nor.nor.oeste

25 Miercoles Primero de agosto fuymos gouernando al oeste quarta del
sudsueste y otras vezes al sueste y cottas vezes al sueste. hasta[n]t
dia que nos dio el buento al leste y bira mos la buelta al nor.oeste y
a[n]gorme al punto que he he en my carta hallee que auia ganado. 6 he le
8 guas por los Rumbos arriba dichos

Jueues tomeel sol entreeintay ochogrados ocasos ẽ hize cãgladura del nauio
17 siete leguas porel nornoroeste quarta del norte
Viernes fuymos corriendo al norte quarta del nornoroeste. y este dia tomeel sol
entreeintay nueue grados Largos y respondieme an[illegible] meal sol que
20 auia andado veinte leguas
Sabado fuimos como tres leguas la bueelta del norte quarta del nornoroeste
y segunas vezes al nornoroeste y luego nos dio el buento el nornoroeste y bira
mos la bueelta del sueste. y en mitera que ganauriamos con[illegible] meal punto
5 que trayamos en mi carta a[illegible] seguas la bueelta del oeste
Domingo ẽ hize cãgladura al nauio treinta leguas hauiendo el camino
del sueste. y nueue seguas vezes yaziamos al oeste sueste y otras vezes
30 al sueste quarta del oeste y hize todo el camino al sueste por lo que nos
se tenia en agua y por lo que cabatiamos
Lunes hize cãgladura al nauio veinte y siete leguas por el sueste segun
27 del sur. sando el treguarto arriba dicho
Martes siete del dho tomeel sol entreeintay ãnoue grados y hize cãin
22 gladura al nauio veinte y dos leguas por el sur quarta del sueste
Miercoles hize cãgladura veinte y dos leguas pore sueste y este
22 dia tomeel sol en treeintay quatro grados menos bryuinto
20 Jueues hize cãgladura veinte leguas por el sueste
Viernes diez del dho tome el sol en treeintay vn grados y treo quintos y hize
24 cãgladura veinte y quatro leguas por el sueste
Sabado tomeel sol treintay tres grados y dos tercios e hize cãgladura diez
17 siete leguas por el sueste este dho dia nos dio el buento al sueste que
nos duro vna hora antes y luego nos dio bonança y luego tuuimos abica
Domingo fuymos gouernando como diez leguas la bueelta del sueste que
se entrãin de dos del sabado a tres dicho hasta media noche y a quella hora
5 biramos la bueelta del nornoroeste, y yziamos como ãnoue leguas / entrien
do la cãgladura del domingo en dos del sabado a mi dia hasta el del domingo a mi dia
Lunes tubimos calma / mirreco nos dio el viento en dos sueste y anduuimos
6 hasta como seis leguas la bueelta del oeste
Miercoles tomeel sol en treeintay vn grados e ocaso y hize cãgladura
16 diez y seis leguas por el oeste. este dia nos dio el buento al sueste
Jueues tomeel sol entreeintay vn grados y medio ẽ hize cãgladura quin
15 ze leguas por el nornoroeste quarta del norte
Viernes diez y siete del dho tomeel sol en treeintay dos grados y medio en
17 casos, ẽ hize cãgladura diez y siete leguas por el nornoroeste
Sabado ẽ hize cãgladura veinte y nueue leguas por el nornoroeste con
29 firme ala costura de este nuestro nauio que treeintay quatro grados
Domingo ando ubimos de vna bueelta y otra y ganaria vn firme al

[illegible]

punto que el hee en my carta diez leguas de la buelta del nordeste

Lunes veinte del dho marque my agulja. costando las agujas de sudueste y halle que estaua fixa al norte y hele he de cinladura veinte leguas por el sueste

martes tome el sol entreinta grados y dos tercios cotedia huymos dos buelta en que andariamos quinze leguas la buelta del sueste y sesio leguas la buelta del nordeste quarta del norte

Miercoles tome el sol entreinta y quatro grados largo yesta dia por el nordeste en que andariamos veynte leguas por el nordeste y corrimos al nordeste quarta del este y cottas vezes tomando mas del este y cottas mas cocado porque famas podiamos hechar Rumbo cierto, por andar el buento jugando y no cotar fixo en vn rengar y hechariamos todo el camino por el nordeste de cinladura treinta leguas

Jueues tome el sol entreinta y quatro grados largo de he de cinladura quin ze leguas

Buernes he de cinladura diez y ocho leguas por el nordeste y este dia tome el sol entreinta y quatro grados y vn quarto

Sabado che de cinladura seis leguas por el este porque el buento rabonaua por el sueste

Domingo veinte y dos del dho tome el sol en treinta y quatro grados menos vn tercio y hele he de cinladura ocho leguas. que me respondio tu del camino al este sueste. y puesto en bendi que las aguas me auian abatido. porque auiamos corrido al este algunas vezes al este quarta del sueste, y puesto tubo en entendido que me auia abatido las aguas a trae buento nornordeste y a ges vezes tomaua del norte

Lunes yriamos como quinze o traes la buelta del este sueste y andaria el nauio diez y seis leguas y todo mas nos dio vn rosagua a gros con aguas

martes veinte y ocho del dicho tome el sol en treinta y quatro grados menos seis minutos y en el dia ffuymos como trae leguas la buelta del sueste y luego nos dio el viento nel sueste y a ges vezes nel este sueste y assi fuymos corriendo al nordeste y algunas vezes al nornordeste y este dia he he de cinladura diez y seis leguas

miercoles fuymos corriendo al nordeste quarta del este y a ges vezes al nordeste porque el buento trasueste y algunas vezes tramos la

y ottras mas cocadas, he he de cinladura treinta leguas

Jueues nos dio el buento tanto y con agua a gros que nos hizo yr sin

velas y sabia, este dia he he de cinladura veinte quatro leguas por el nordeste

Buernes he he de cinladura diez y ocho leguas por el nordeste quarta del norte porque este dia nos dio el buento nel sueste

Sabado primero de setiembre tome el sol entreinta y ocho grados y

largos, coledia temia mpuntren altura detreinte y sieis grados y dos terçios yes
to que va adeçir seloquetemia mpunto. Alos treinta y seis grados y medio largos
meenmende de notesbir porqueestediaelbiento fuecalma y polamucha a
quexlos dias pasados temamos tenguentendido queauiamos dexado enaltura y
tambin podria ser quelanao vuiescandado mas delo que yo seauia hecho de
angladura aestos tres dias

22 Domingo 8 the deangladura tresleguas alesnorueste estaangladura entrehese
3 eo de Sabado amedio dia hasta el domingo amedio dia, yaesta hora nos dio elbien
to cresciente que con vnaguacero quen nos hizo tomamos de gabia, y quando
vino a media nothe nos dio tan recio quenos hizo sacar las bonetas

23 Lunes 8 the deangladura alnauio veinte leguas poreln ordeste sandos sie
reguardo almucho viento que trayamos y mar coledia enla tarde nos dio tan
24 to viento que vbimos de reparar porque auia mucha serrazon porque algunos
rezios que sethauan punto con vno asu carta se hallauan ante tierra dela
nueua espanna yamedia nothe nos dio elbiento en el sisnueste y fuimos bel
gouernando alsueste quarta aleste

25 Martes tomeel sol en treinta y nueue grados y vntersio y este dia fuimos bel
y 8 the deangladura alnauio veinte leguas, coledia mandar engouernar alsueste
12 enque yo fuy xpaleçer que gouernasemos alesueste, porque yo me hallaua
setenta de quarenta y vngrado. cxvij. leguas poria figura de my carta y con
forme a otra figura que auia visto de espanna en paris en fraya garcia de vrdaneta
me hallaua de tres de quarenta y vngrados como atras tengo dicho. cc xl leguas
i delamy ota tierra y este la longitud que auia vna carta mas queen otra era
causa que esta figura de my carta tenia mas esta tierra labueta del veste que no
la otra en que ambas eran yguales en longitud delquerto delanauidad
hasta el de cabu

27 Miercoles quinze del dho tomeel sol treinta y ocho grados y vnquarto largos
33 este dia 8 the deangladura treinta y tres leguas poreleste quarta deleste

28 Jueues tomeel sol entreinta y sieis grados y vntersio este dia anublo el nauio vein
35 te y dos leguas poreleste elbiento estraxo y este quarta deleste y gouernamos
gouernar alesueste

29 Viernes tomeel sol entreinta y sieis grados y vntersio este dia hesse deangladura
16 siete escleguas poreleste porquelbiento traxo y tornamos a delsueste

30 Sabado tomeel sol entreinta y sieis grados y medio eocasos y 8 the deangladura
25 veinte dos leguas poreleste, y este quemultiplicamos en altura y causa
que elbiento nonos dexaua yr aleste algunas vezes

20 1 Domingo 8 the deangladura alnauio veinte leguas poreleste

31 Lunes siete del dho tomeel sol entreinta y sieis grados y medio 8 este dia 8 the
5 deangladura dos leguas poreleste quarta delsueste

6 1 Martes 8 the deangladura alnauio seis leguas poreleste

23 1 Miercoles 8 the deangladura veinte y tres leguas poreleste y este elbiento sus
tes y tornamos delsur, coledia nos dio delnueste y bamos gouernando alsueste

2 Jueues 8 the deangladura veinte y sete leguas poreleste, en que nos hobe
27 gouernabamos alsueste quarta eleste, pequa me hallaua por my carta

Veniey treleguaes dela tierra mas cercana, y me demoraba N. noroeste y por el
costeste me hallaua a setenta y quatro leguas de la tierra por mi carta.

Jueues Biernes 12 the de angladura catorze leguas por el oeste quarta del sueste y este dia
14 marcamos las agujas y por aquel gouierno auia nordeste auia a que trayamos
dos tlas de quarta y por una mia que a mia marcada quela auia yo marcado
2 de Puerto de la nauidad, tambien la marque como he dho y nos oeste auia media qu
a tres o casa.

Viernes Sabado quinze del dho 15 the de angladura treinta leguas La mytad del camino
al oeste quarta de sueste. y la otra mytad al oesueste, esta quarta que gouer
30 nuamos mas largo de noche a causa que nos hallauamos on la tierra. Y el dho
Pero descopinosa piloto, oy por no he me hallaua on la tierra por la figura de my
carta y mas dijo que del puerto de Cubu hasta donde estoy ay my punto Salgome
1545. le. [U]n xiv. leguaes. y estoy en altura de treinta y seis grados largos, y a esta vista
Dejde 16 de me hallee del puerto de Cagalitra, o sho leguaes, y la tierra al oeste y por la carta q
Viernes 15 hando punto del puerto de Cubu hasta donde estoy ay he delongi
tud dos mylle leguaes.

Domingo Domingo diez 10 the de sus dho tomee el sol en treinta y nueue grados y treo quintos
28 de grado y este dia 12 the de angladura veinte y ocho leguaes, y este dia hymos
de parescer q gouernasemos al oeste y este dia nos dio cabo viento y norte.

Lunes Lunes 11 the de angladura al nauio treinta y seis leguaes por el oesueste y este
36 dia nos dio tanto viento norte que no hizo tomar las velas de gabia.

Martes Martes 12 [E]/o tho del dho, al alua se leuo de ancla mi nao y estando a sentado el batel
y el dho piloto vi tierra por la vanda de oeste. y por que yo hamos amurados
de la vanda de cabalier y luego mande cacar a popa las velas que tenia este
volasen las siguientes/ co una vela que esta nao trae oeste sueste y en el
medio della ala alta/ y de la una parte y de la otra lo cacendos puntas del
gadas y de la parte del nao oeste della, amo alegua y media 1 cha una piedra
que parescia fuera del agua. a esta yla le puse nombre la descada, esta ala en
altura de treinta y tres grados y tres quartos y esta tierra quando la vi dis
de ella amo a nole guaes y ansi fuymos gouernando al sur quarta al sueste
te. y este dia tomee el sol en treinta y tres grados y un quarto y parescia
digo que la tierra. Y de esta ala en altura de treinta y tres grados y tres quar
tos desde lunes a medio dia hasta el martes a la hora que vi de la tierra
30 he the de angladura al nauio treinta leguaes por el oesueste y este dia no
damos hyr a descubrir la tierra a causa que auia muchos vientos y esta ala
tierra ahumada, y ansi fuymos de parescer q gouernasemos al sur
quarta de sueste por dar recaudo a la tierra porque antes me amy pun
to y el dho piloto traya fixe que esta una yla que estaua en altura de
treinta y quatro grados descados y los demas que hauan puntos se
hallauan en la tierra, este dia me hallee del puerto de cubu hasta don
1550. le de este mi punto este propio dia [U]n dc L leguaes.

Miercoles Miercoles 16 tomee el sol en treinta y un grados menos un sesmo, este dia 12 the
46. de angladura quarenta y seis leguaes al nauio por el sur quarta el sueste.

xx Juebes 8 the de angladura treinta y seleguas la my tra del camino al sur
36 y la otra al sur quarta del sueste de manera que andel reguardo a la aguja
media quarta quenaoceste auia mereçido el camino todo al sur quarta del
sueste y este dia fuymos depreçados que guerna mos al sueste por que tuvi
mos leste sueste anyo la derrotas

xx Viernes tomee el sol en veinte y 8 thogrados cercados 8 the de angladura treinta y
38 o 8 hs leguas en derechuras Rumbos enguedas 8 ho leguas al sueste y veinte
leguas a leo sueste y las demas al este quarta del sueste por lo y bam os sin de
mm a de la tierra

xx Sabado veinte y dos del dicho tomee el sol en veinte y siete grados y dos tes 8 the de
angladura al nauo veinte leguas parees este y an bemir gouernando a leste
70 quemos abaxado en altura y mas lo que nauoceste auia clagusa y antos
eso auemos abaxado en altura este dia a las 8 ho de la mmana estando
·/· vn marinero actimon que dela mana anorca, medio ro que bia tierra. Yo
el dho piloto me fuy a la gabia y bi que era tierra que parecia a vna vela
y la marque y me demoraba al nordeste y fuy descubrio de mmera que
me pudo endubdar que no era tierra, a las tres de la de estando yo el dho piloto
Arrimado a la gabia vila tierra y luego tomee la gusa y marque la aseu
y me demoraua al nordeste quarta deleste y auia mas a de lee nordeste eo
tierra alta y estaua enaltura de veinte y 8 ho grados. Largos y auia
de my a la tierra 8 seleguas y en demedio dia haze la 8 ora que la vi, an
† daria ci nauio quatro leguas, y marca que estaua a mediodia diez e seleguas
y por la parte del nordeste della auia vna tierra alta a manera de

xx Domingo quando amanesçio bimos la costa que teniamos atras, y hazia al
gunas quebradas, y tambien vimos la tierra que auiamos visto el dia an
tes y la marque y me demoraba al nordeste quarta al nordeste, era tierra
mas alta que ninguna de quantas auiamos visto, en la costa tomee el sol en veinte
y siete grados y vn tercio y de aqui adelante me demoraba vna punta
al sueste quarta del este, llama se esta punta santa catalina es baxa y
llana, era quatro leguas y estaua como yo estaua enaltura de veinte
y siete grados y vn quinto. porque de ante tome el sol a esta punta me demo
raua al sueste quarta del este: esta punta a la tierra que auiamos visto
el dia antes se corre la costa nordeste sueste, toda es tierra espelada
y esta punta que esta enaltura de veinte y siete grados y vn quinto, es vna
tierra vn medano alto y por cima a de la cabeça vnas matas que
parecen capas de lana y en doblando esta punta haze vna ensenada
y luego ver as tres o rios leos en que el del medio es mayor y haze vna isla
en medio, y a un lado haze otra isleta, y el que esta de la parte del sur es
mas mediano y esta parte del norte mas pequeño que ninguno y de la
tierra que esta sobre la mar es alta, y de dos en dos leguas a la punta de trasdicha
es tierra baxa y arenales y de esta punta de hasta santa ca
talina va la costa a nordeste trez leguas. La buelta de leo sueste y a lli

63

Haze vna punta de tierra sobllada que es la que esta delos peñoles sobre
la mar

XI Lunes tome el sol en veinte y vn grados y treynta y cinco grados y de ay me
51 ce sul hasta treynta/ y vna legua nordeste/ y andubo el navio a quarenta y vna leguas/ y fue hasta
el camino de sueste quarta de este/ en todo este dia quando tomee el sol de tierra dos le-
guas/ y de aqui vala costa como quinze leguas/ y al remate de esta quinze
leguas/ es vna tierra alta a manera de ysla, que no me determino si es ysla.
porque quando llega mos alla era noche para salir de esta tierra vaxa
a de sueste nordeste/ y de ay nordeste de donde tome el sol esta tierra hace tres bolta
tierra. que es ala como ysla. en estas quinze leguas/ dos leguas hallara
mos en quinze y en veinte brasas y todo arena adelante de esta tierra/ fue
y no tiene mucho entierra a quando passaree/ es tierra que haze como ysla
tome el estrella/ y estando las guardas/ nordeste/ en veinte y quatro
grados y tres quartos y amo a dos leguas la buelta de este sueste/ haze otra
tierra alta de cumplidos de siete leguas/ y luego se hala vna ensenada/ y luego
vala tierra alta como/ otras leguas/ y alli sale vna punta con vnos mogotes
ecos que caen sobre la mar

XII Martes tome el sol en veinte y quatro grados/ de donde tome este dia el sol
marque esta punta. y me demoraba al nordeste/ y esta tierra de esta punta/ a dos
8 leguas que se hala vnos mogotes sobre la mar como de la tierra/ de esta punta
de esta punta al sueste/ y dellanda esta dicha punta dicen que hay vn puerto y
luego vala tierra vaxa

XIII Miercoles tome el sol en veinte y tres grados y vn quarto/ esta tierra de treynta leguas
y tenia vna tierra alta al este/ y la buelta del sueste/ de la vna punta
vaxa/ y esta tierra de my como nueve leguas/ que en ella hay vn rio/ hazo de grado y pedazo
me demoraba que era al sueste de manera, que sacando de la altura que tome
esta tarde la punta veinte y tres grados menos vn/ octavo/ y hallo/ de grado de esta tierra/ y andubo
las nao este quarta del sueste quinze leguas/ y de donde tome el punto de las
quinze leguas/ fuy arrimando por el sueste quarta de este/ hasta poner mi en
altura de veinte y tres grados y vn quarto/ que es la altura que tome/ es de
36 sia hasta que anduvo el navio treinta y seis leguas/ esta costa se corre sues-
te sueste/ y esta punta arriba dicha/ el rumbo de la tierra de la cabeça/ hasta
esta nueva altura de veinte y tres grados menos vn/ octavo/ hace señas que tiene
esta costa/ siete leguas/ de la tierra alta va vna punta/ adelante/ vna
de cumplidos de dos leguas la buelta del sueste. que es de donde
dicha tierra y sobre la punta haze vn pan redondo que es ala como
ysla toda tierra llana/ en esta parte de la tierra haze/ otro mogote a manera
de pan de aqui a/ el pan que esta sobre la mar haze vna mancha blanca
ca que tome ala my tad del pan y luego se hala mi ala mar vna ensenada
y alta punta de piedra nombre caboblanco. por la mancha blanca arriba dicha
Esta noche murio el maese y los echamos a la mar sobre este cabo/ esta
noche marque el agulja y alle que es tuvo fixa al norte

Jueues veinte y siete del dicho tomé el sol en veinte y dos grados y entraio
este dia andubo el nauio veinte y ocho leguas en que viñe a sentar a sie-
28. te gasta poner me nor este sudueste con el cabo arriba dicho y desde alli
corrien do a les sueste hasta poner me en altura de veinte y dos grados y en-
traio que es de altura que yo meresçibio todo el camino a sudues-
te quarta al este y asi me respondio las veinte y ocho leguas arriba dichas
este dia murio el piloto mayor Cetuan Rodriguez. murio en tierras nueue
y las dixo de la mañana

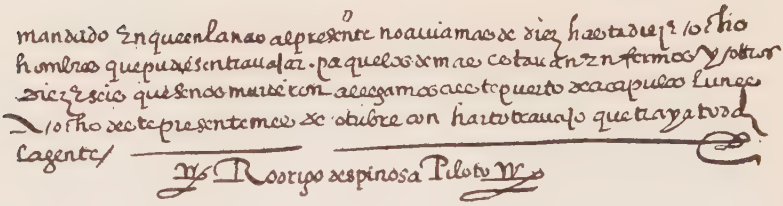
Viernes veinte y ocho del dicho tomé el sol en veinte y un grado y medio nor-
dos mi norte. halle que auia andado el nauio ansi me de altura veinte y
ocho leguas para el sueste este dia entre las dos y el astro de la tarde vi dos al-
28 bricos dos yslas y las marque y la que estaua a la banda del nor oeste
me demoraua al oeste y tenia de la quarta del sudueste y la otra al oes-
quartel sueste, este aca esta ysla que estaua al nor oeste de mi ancho onze
leguas quando la vide am parecçer, de manera que quando tomé el sol
este dia a mediodia estaua de mi esta dicha ysla mas çercana quinze
leguas. porque estaua de alta y cortada. acpunto y ysla esta ysla
de la parte del nor oeste veinte y un grados y un tercio y quando las dos albri
mos fuymos gouernamos la buelta de este por ver que ysla eran y
antes que llegasemos de ellas con ancho seis leguas nos anocheçio y pa-
reçio nos de paz repentina y ami que fuesemos gouernando al sueste para
anfrime auna figura que traya estauan este tres ysla çerca de la
tierra firme y por mi figura estaria este tres ysla del cabo de arri-
tes ancho treinta y seis leguas nor oeste sudueste, y de paz repen-
por su figura tenia de cabo de arriba este, al sueste

Sabado quando amaneçio vimos las ysla arriba dichas y mas otra
que estaua de sudueste de la parte del sueste y esta y otras las marque y la
que estaua de la parte del nor oeste de ver de mas de mi norte y
esta ysla es alta y de la parte del nor oeste y del sueste hecha a unas
puntas delgadas y tambien marque la del medio y me demoraua al
norte quarta del nor oeste, y es tambien alta y hecha a las mismas puntas
de ella ysla arriba dicha, esta ysla del medio de la parte del sueste
sale una tierra que a mi parecer me parecio ysleta, aun que este
nome determino para estas tres cosas tres ysla arriba dichas son
de a cumplida de tres leguas cada una de ellas la que esta mas al
sueste de todas ellas es una ysla pequeña y alta y redonda y he
cha de la parte del sueste una tierra baxita que me parecia ser ysle
tas estas tres ysla son nor oeste sueste esta ysla que
esta de la parte del nor oeste a la del sueste, como ocho onze leguas
de la que esta mas al nor oeste de estas tres ysla arriba dichas
esta con la punta de la california llamada por otro nombre cabo bon
co, corre de esta ysla de cabo blanco les sueste y oeste nor oeste

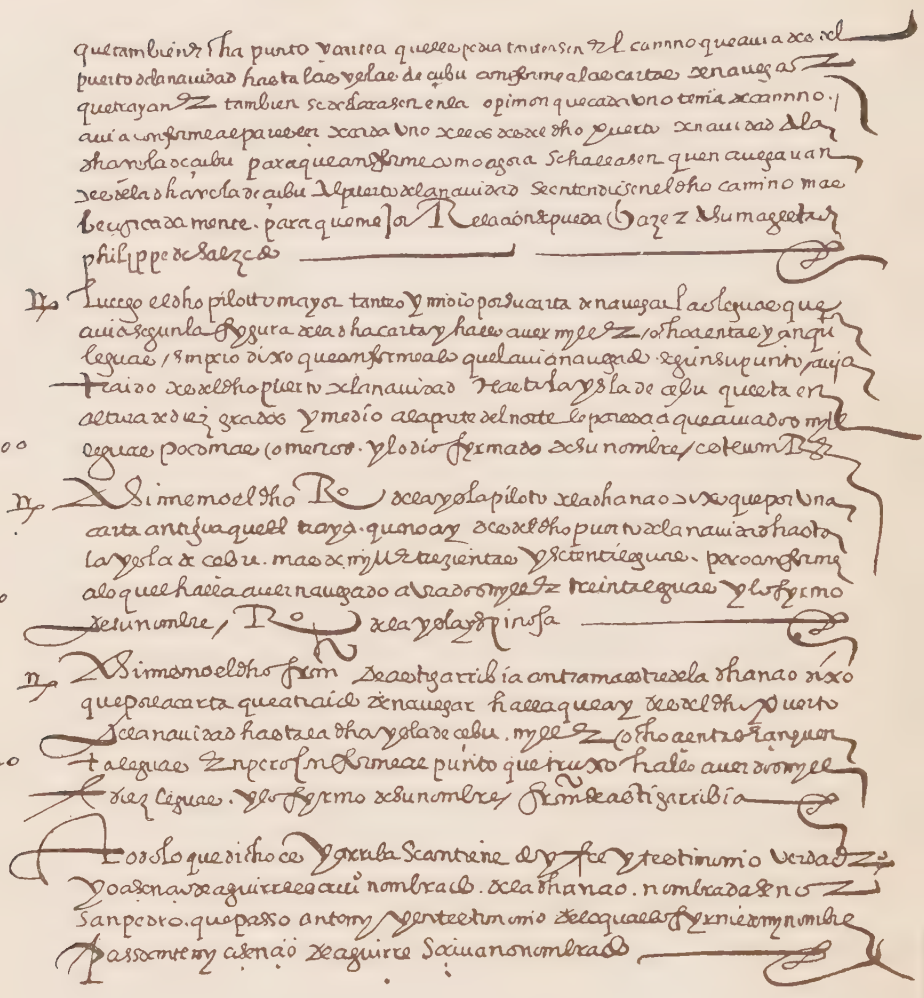
Yay acerca desta ysla al cabo blanco sesenta y ocho leguas con fresme am y rumbo que
traya en mi carta, Y este cabo bimos tierra la buelta del sueste quarta deste y este de
quatro leguas por este sueste. Y a nueve por este. Y a lli fuy gouernando por este sueste
hasta prima en altura de dos veinte grados y medio y assi mesmo pareçio que
auia andado el navio veinte y siete leguas por este sueste. Y tuuimos de la quarta
deste y la tierra Y ruba desta que me yua mostraba al este quarta de sueste. La
Ramos a mos entre las quatro y las cinco de la noche vimos tierra de quebrada la cual del
mismo parescientes. Y vaparael puerto de la nauidad y este cabo y punta marque
una de a dos tres y las que esta la que esta de la parte de sueste y tambien
marque esta tierra firme y assi dicho conforme a los rumbos que mi gue
la dicha punta y la tierra firme. tantee en mi carta y parece estar una legua
de a tierra que dize, diez y ocho leguas y que esta tierra es a tierra enactura
de veinte grados largos

IV Domingo treinta del dicho quando amaneçio vimos la costa a la dicha y no
conoçia la tierra porque estaua neçia, mas porque yua en mi carta
hazia que esta tuuiese entre el puerto de la nauidad y este cabo de suso dicho, y aquí os
mismo el viento y conoçia que yua en alguna agua a menos de este, y este dia tuue
el sol en veinte grados menos un terçio. Y pareçiome que estaua
puerto de la nauidad de seis leguas poco mas o menos y tuue
en el dicho puerto, que fue diez y nueue grados y un terçio pareçe tanto rumbo q
esta en el puerto de seis leguas, quando tuue este dia este esta de tierra
dos leguas y media la sonda es la que tuue aqui en las siguientes / la buel
ta de nordeste veras una tierra alta y amogotada. Y de la parte de sueste
de ella Hay cabos tetas altas y cada una de estas tetas se parten en
dos y parecen ser ysla como se ven en su retrato. Y en medio destas quatro tetas hay
una aguada. Y de cada parte de cada una destas tetas juntas esta en la sonda aque
esta en la tierra alta y a mas de seis leguas y media la buelta de este se ven
unos farellones de piedra pequeños / y neste farellon hay cinco o seis
rios en la tierra frontero de dicho farellon y en que vienen a parar
de a xarcia en la quebrada que esta quatro leguas de este dicho farellon tuue esta
ta cerca de a mar en cabo blanco y sobre el la llamo / estan dos tres
farellones de piedra cerca de la tierra y alli dizen que estan las mas que
ras, de agua de puerto de la nauidad diez leguas

XV Lunes quinze de mañana dio X Primero de octubre año del nasçimiento de nro
señor y saluador Jesu Xpo de mill y quinientos y setenta y a nueve años Amen
nos hallamos sobre el puerto de la nauidad y esta cora mi rezmin carta y bido
1892. le que auia andado [illegible] leguas sobre el puerto de sabuesta que
Descub. de Colon y de la Nauidad y a esta hora me fray de capitan y pedir de que mandase
mandaba que saliese el navio porque estuuiamos sobre el puerto de la nauidad
dad y el mesmo dio que saliese del puerto de la capilla y sobre esto a su



IV Martes A xuej 2 o.tho dx.tre.mbre dx.mill.e quiõ y.s.e.senta y.a.nos anos el.mm.o mag.co señ.or
felippe de.s.al.zedo capitan dx.e.stanao sanpedro que.va dx.buelta alamuerta.s.paña pario.d al
pilotto mayo.r: y.arrodrigo dx.l.vyola ansi.mesmo pilotto dx.la.s.hanao. y.a.fr.an dx.astigari
bia contramaestre dx.la dicha nao. que.tambien fueha punto y.antes. tantes.a.n dx.cam.o
que.auian andado. xo.o del puerto de.aibu hasta.e.sta tierra que.ve.mos este dicho dia ando
tomaron el.s.ol. en.treinta.y. tres.grados. y. un.quarto. y. que.tantes.a.n.s.i.mesmo el.al
tura. y. nquemas subieron. y. le.s dixe.n. firmado de.sus nombres / p.o filippe de.s.al
zedo
V Y.luego el.dicho pilotto mayo.r.o.tantes. y. mixo en.su.carta de.marear. y. hallo que.auian anda
do. por.su punto. y. altura. de.x.o. de.l dicho puerto. y. yola.s.cabu. hasta.e.l dicho dia. mar
tes. que.vinieron. la.primera tierra. mill.e.s. setecientas. y. quarenta. leguas. de. s.o. camin
no. hasta. vna. yola. que.esta. cerca. de.la tierra. firme. de.la.s.tierras. del.poniente. de.la.s.nue
ua. Spanna. que.son. en. altura. de. treinta. y. tres. grados. y. tres. quartos. porque. este
dicho dia. a.medio.dia. hallo. el.altura. de.l.sol. de. treinta. y. tres. grados. y. tres. quartos. porque. este
dicho dia. a.medio.dia. hallo. el.altura. de.l.sol. de. treinta. y. tres. grados. y. tres. quartos. porque. este
la dicha tierra. a.c.sus.este. se.tumo el.altura. del.sol. a.medio.dia. en. treinta. y. nue
Y. treinta. y. un. quarto. y. ansi. mesmo. de. xo. que. la. altura. mas. alta. que
39 15/11 anda.s.subido. a.s.y.s. treinta. y. nueue. grados. y. medio. para. cabarte. del. norte. poco
mas. o. menos. y. lo. firmo. de.sus nombre / Sebastian Rodriguez
V Y.ansi mesmo el.dicho Pilotto Rodrigo de.la.yola. tantes. y. medio. por.sus cartas
de marear. lo. que. auia. andado. xo.o del. dicho puerto. de. y.ola.s.cabu. hasta. el. dicho pun
to. arriba. que. dixe. y. hallo. que. auia. andado. de.l.o.s.o. camino. de. mill.e. y. seiscientas. y. quarenta
leguas. y. dixo. que. la. altura. que. mas. a.s.subido. a.s.ido. treinta. y. nueue. grados. y. un
39 1/2 para. cabarte. del. norte. y. lo. firmo. de.sus nombre / Rodrigo de la Yslua
copinossa
VI Y.ansi mesmo el.dicho fue. de.sus tierras. arribia. contra. maestre. que. siempre. de. tomado
el.altura. y. ha. hecho. punto. tantes. y. medio. por.sus cartas. de. marear. lo. que
auia. andado. de.l.o.s.o. del. dicho puerto. de. cabu. hasta. el. dicho punto. arriba. que. son. s.o.
Y. hallo. que. auia. andado. mill. y. seiscientas. y. quatro. leguas. de. s.o. camino
39 1/2 Y. que.la altura. que. mas. a.s.subido. le. treinta. y. nueue. grados. para. cabarte
del. norte. poco mas. o. menos. y. lo. firmo. de.sus nombre / Fernando de Aeta
garribia
VII A.s.si lo qual que.dicho. fue. y. arriba. se. contiene. lo. firme. y. testimonio
de.la.s.dicho. y. de.l.a.s.dicha nao. nombrada. señora
Sant. pedro que. passo. ante. mi. y. en. testimonio. de. lo. qual. lo. firme. de. mi
Nombre / Passo. ante. mi. de.la nao. de. aguirre. escriuano. nombrado
VI Lunes. Vnuue. de. Julio. de. mill.e. y. quiõ.s.e.scientos. y. a.nos el. mm.o. mag.co señ.or
felippe de.s.al.zedo capitan de.stanao sanpedro que. va. de. buelta. a. la. nueua. Sp.a.
pidio. a. pilotto mayo.r. y. a. pilotto Rodrigo de. copinossa. asi. mesmo. pilotto
de.la.dicha nao. y. a. fernando de. aeta. garribia. contra. maestre. de. la. dicha. nao /



Translation

[Abstract from June 1 to September 18]

The *San Pedro* sailed from Cebú Friday morning, June 1, passed out through San Bernardino Strait June 9 and by the 21st had run 240 leagues nearly northeast from the point of the Philippines, which they named "Punta del Espiritu Santo." Here they passed a small island in 20° which looked like a ship at anchor.[83] July 1, they were in 24° 10′, still sailing with a southeast wind. July 30 they were in 37° 12′, and August 3 in full 39°. August 4 they encountered a contrary northeast wind and had to sail to the southeast, so that on the 8th they had dropped down to a little less than 34°. September 1, however, they were back in full 38½°. On the 3d they encountered a storm and lay to, as some of the navigators thought they were near New Spain. On the 4th they were in 39° 20′[84] and that day Espinosa calculated that they were 118 leagues from land in 41°,[85] according to his chart, but according to that of Urdaneta they were 210, the difference being due to the fact that on his chart the land extended more to the west than on that of Urdaneta, both, however, showing the same difference in longitude between Navidad and Cebú.[86] On the 5th they were in full 38° 15′ and on the 7th, in 37° 20′. They now had a south wind and were sailing east and southeast. On the 15th they were in full 36° and Espinosa considered that he was only eight leagues west of the "Puerto de la Galera," as he called it, and 1545 leagues distant from Cebú. Sunday, the 16th, they were in 35° 36′ and had a north wind. On the 18th, at seven o'clock in the morning, Espinosa saw land on the starboard side.

[End of Abstract]

Tuesday, September 18, at seven o'clock in the morning, while seated in the chair, I, the aforesaid pilot, saw land on the starboard side, because we were on a port tack. I at once ordered the ship to run with the wind astern.[87] The landmarks which this island has are the following: it is an island trending north-northeast, south-southwest, high in the middle and from one part and the other two slender points make out; on the northwest side about a league and a half distant there is a rock which appears above the water.[88] This island I named "La Deseada"; it is in latitude 33° 45′, and was about five leagues away when I saw it. We went on steering a course to the south, a quarter southeast. The same day I observed the sun and calculated our latitude to be 33° 15′ and therefore I say that the land which I saw is in 33° 45′.[89] From midday Monday up to the hour when I saw land, I made the run of the ship to be thirty leagues on an east-southeast course. This day we did not dare go to examine the land as there was much wind and the land was covered with mist.[90] We were therefore of the opinion that we should take a course south, a quarter southeast, in order to keep a safe distance from land, because, according to the location which I had marked on the chart I carried, there was an island in the latitude of almost 34°;[91] the others who had marked down their position found themselves on land. This day I found myself distant from the port of Çubu 1,650 leagues.

Wednesday I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 30° 50′, and made the day's run to be forty-six leagues south, a quarter southeast.

Thursday I made the day's run to be thirty-six leagues, half south and the other half south, a quarter southeast; but making a correction of half a quarter for the variation of the compass to the northeast,[92] which we observed, it left the whole day's run south, a quarter southeast. This day we were of the opinion that we should steer to the southeast because we were east-west with the Isla de Cedros.

Friday I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be short 28°. I made the day's run thirty-eight leagues on different courses; eight to the southeast, twenty to the east-southeast, and the rest to the east, a quarter southeast, as we were steering in search of land.

Saturday, the 22nd, I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 27° 40′. I made the day's run to be twenty leagues to the east and found that in steering to the east we had fallen off in latitude more than the variation in the compass to the northeast called for. That day, at eight o'clock in the morning, while a sailor named Andrea was at the tiller, he told me that he saw land. I went aloft and saw land which seemed to be an island, and marking it, I found it bore east-northeast. Soon it became covered so that I became doubtful whether it was land or not. At three o'clock in the afternoon while I was leaning on the binnacle,[93] I saw the land. I at once took the compass and marked its direction. It bore northeast, a quarter east, and even slightly east-northeast. It was high land in latitude full 28°. We were distant from it twelve leagues, and from midday to the time I saw it the ship had run four leagues, so that at midday it must have been sixteen leagues away. On the northwest side of it there was a stretch of high steep land like a table-mountain.[94]

Sunday, when it dawned, we saw the coast, which was high and has some ravines, and at the same time we saw the land we had seen the day before. I marked its position and it bore north, a quarter northwest. It is the highest land to be seen on the coast. I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 27° 20′. From where I made the observation there was a point, called the "Punta de Santa Catalina,"[95] bearing southeast a quarter east. It was four leagues distant from us at that hour, and must be in latitude 27° 12′, because from where I observed the sun the point bore southeast, a quarter east. From this point to the land we had seen the day before, the coast runs northwest-southeast, all bare country.[96] From the point in 27° 12′, the country is one of sand dunes, on top of which grow some shrubs which look like roots of wool.[97] In rounding the point, a large *ensenada* appears, and shortly you will see three *peñoles,* of which the one in the middle is the largest, having a nipple in the middle and another on one side. The one on the south side is smaller and the one on the north side is the smallest.[98] The land close to the sea is high, but from these *peñoles* to the point behind it is low land, apparently sand banks. From the Punta de Santa Catalina the coast runs some thirteen leagues

to the east-southeast and then another rugged point makes out, which is the one opposite the *peñoles*.[99]

Monday I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 25° 36′. From the time I made the observation to this hour the ship went fifty-one leagues, on a course southeast, a quarter east. When I made it we were about two leagues from land. From here the coast runs on about fifteen leagues, at the end of which you will see a high land which looks like an island, but I did not determine whether it was or not, as it was night when we reached it. To get away from this low country you have to steer from where I took the sun today, south-southwest to the rugged country which looks like an island. In these fifteen leagues you will find bottom in fifteen and twenty fathoms and all sand at two leagues from the land. Along the coast there are reefs, so do not approach it closely when you pass. This place which looks like an island I found to be in 24° 45′ [100] when I made an observation on the Pole Star, the *Guardas* being in the southwest.[101] At a matter of two leagues in the direction of the east-southeast there is another high land, seven leagues long. Then an *ensenada* opens out[102] and then a high land runs on for eight leagues to where a point makes out with some flat-topped cliffs which rise out of the sea.

Tuesday I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 24°, and when I made the observation I marked the point which shows the cliffs over the sea as bearing east-northeast a matter of eight leagues distant. The country behind to this point runs to the southeast. On doubling the point it is said that there is a port, and near by the low country begins.

Wednesday I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 23° 15′, being about three leagues from land. There was high country to the east, and in the direction of the southeast a low point ran out, about nine leagues distant, that is, a long third of a degree, in the direction that it bore, southeast, so that, subtracting this from the latitude which I observed, the point would be in 23° less an eighth.[103] Today the ship's course was east, a quarter east-southeast for fifteen leagues, and from where I pricked the fifteen leagues I went on to the southeast, a quarter east, to a latitude of 23° 15′, which is where I made the observation. Today I found that the ship had sailed thirty-six leagues. The coast runs northwest-southeast. The point above referred to is the end of the land of California and in the latitude of 23° less an eighth. The landmarks of this coast are the following: from a high land a low point runs out two leagues in a southeast direction to where the land ends; on this point there is a round hill like a loaf of bread which looks like an island, but it is all mainland; on the mainland side there is another hill like a sugar-loaf; the hill which is over the sea has a white spot which covers nearly half of it and it shows from the side of the sea a black top. The point I named "Cabo Blanco" on account of this white spot.[104] This night the master died, and we buried him at sea off this cape. This night I checked the compass and found that it pointed due north. [End of verbatim translation.]

Thursday the 27th, the chief pilot, Esteban Rodriguez, died. October 1, the *San Pedro* was off Navidad. Salcedo told Espinosa to take the ship to Acapulco instead of entering that port, and she arrived there October 8 with only some ten to eighteen men able to work. Sixteen had died on the voyage and all the rest were sick.[105]

———:———

The voyage to Navidad lasted exactly four months. The ship made about sixteen leagues a day, not far from the average such clumsy ships sailed those days on long voyages, if we accept Espinosa's estimate of 1,892 leagues as the distance.[106] No mention occurs in the narrative of the logs of wood, leaves and branches of trees which were usually encountered off the coast above 36° and afterwards came to be called "Las Señas,"[107] nor of the northwest wind, although it is certain that those with which they sailed south from 34° were generally from that quarter. It is clear that La Deseada, the island first sighted, was not the one which Cabrillo called San Salvador and which is now known as Santa Catalina, notwithstanding Urdaneta's statement.[108] The *San Pedro* could not have passed close enough to that island for Espinosa to describe it, unless he saw San Clemente afterwards. His description also fits either San Miguel or San Nicolas better than Santa Catalina. Although a positive identification of the island cannot be made, the circumstances attending its discovery distinctly point to its having been San Miguel.

In the instructions which the Audiencia gave to Legaspi, he was ordered to take the most extraordinary precautions to see that, when his ship came back to New Spain, no information regarding the expedition should leak out before his letters reached the Audiencia in Mexico and were read and digested. Private letters sent back on the ship had to go first to Mexico to the authorities, and no one evidently was to be permitted to go ashore except a messenger, until orders had been received from Mexico.[109] Exactly when Urdaneta and Salcedo reached the city is not known, but it could hardly have been much before November 1. Legaspi had sent a power of attorney to one Gabriel Diez, and November 7 Diez presented to the Audiencia an *Informacion* drawn up in Bohol, April 13, 1565, made for the purpose of showing that Arellano had deserted. From this it appears that Legaspi had correctly anticipated just what had occurred. On November 11, Diez presented a petition asking that Arellano be sent back to the Philippines to appear before Legaspi, stating that he understood that he was preparing to go to Spain with the license of the president of the Audiencia. On the 13th, he presented another petition, complaining that nothing had been done; on the 16th he presented his power of attorney, and on the 26th, another petition. November 22, Juan Yañez, the boatswain on the *San Lucas,* made a declaration, and Arellano and Martin swore to theirs.[110] The records which have survived show no further action in the matter, but some short time afterwards, Arellano, Urdaneta, Aguirre and Melchor de Legaspi, Legaspi's son, all went to Spain on the same ship,[111] Arellano carrying with him a letter of recommendation to the King from the Dominican Order

in Mexico.[112] Urdaneta and Aguirre also carried one from the provincial of the Augustinians, Fray Diego Rodriguez Vertavillo.[113] Some time in April, 1566,[114] they reached Madrid, where Urdaneta presented an endorsement of his valuable services, signed by the leaders of the expedition in Cebú, June 1, 1565.[115]. What passed at the Court or before the Council in reference to Arellano's case is unknown beyond some vague statements that he was sent back to Mexico as a prisoner. Urdaneta himself remained in Spain long enough to render an opinion on the situation of the Philippines, October 8, 1565. Shortly thereafter, he must have returned to Mexico, where he died, June 3, 1568. We have already seen that Arellano said that he remained three years in Spain seeking some remuneration and was alive in 1575, still looking for it. Martin, his pilot, does seem to have been in prison in Mexico for a time, but whether on account of his desertion or not is not known. In 1566, he was sent back to the Philippines as pilot of the *San Gerónimo*. Although the captain had orders to be on his guard against him, he was murdered by some mutineers, probably instigated by Martin, who was finally marooned by the faithful members of the crew on the Isla de Barbudos.[116]

Arellano has received very little credit for his enterprise, most of this having fallen to the lot of Urdaneta, largely due to the fact that the latter was an Augustinian friar and was lauded to the skies by the chroniclers of that order, who conveniently forgot about Arellano.[117] It may be noticed that in the contemporary documents Arellano was one of the few people connected with the expedition referred to as a "don," proof that he was a person of some consequence.[118] He himself claimed that he had not deserted Legaspi, but having lost the fleet during the night, had simply gone to the Philippines alone because he was unable to find the other ships. Whether this was true or not, it seems probable that he made no great effort to find Legaspi at the islands, but undertook the return voyage in the hope of securing a reward for discovering the route.

When land was sighted, September 18, Salcedo asked the pilots and the boatswain who had been marking down the course on the maps to calculate the distance run from Cebú, which was some fifty leagues west of Cabo del Espiritu Santo. Rodriguez estimated the distance to be 1,740 leagues, Espinosa 1,650, and the boatswain, Francisco de Astigarribia, 1,704.[119] At the point where this calculation was made, in 33° 15′, the ship was not far east of the longitude of San Francisco, so that the calculations were not greatly in error, especially that of Rodriguez. When the *San Pedro* was off Navidad, Espinosa estimated that she had run 1,892 leagues from Cebú, that is to say, 242 leagues from La Deseada, according to his calculation at that point. Previously, on the 9th of July, Salcedo had the two pilots and the boatswain calculate the distance run on the outward voyage from Navidad to Cebú, Rodriguez' figure being 2,000 leagues, Espinosa's 2,030, and the boatswain's 2,010.[120] Espinosa in his opinion stated that according to an old map in his possession the distance from Navidad to Cebú was not more than 1,370 leagues. With these estimates may

be compared that of Saavedra's voyage, from Navidad to the islands of about 1,850 leagues, and those found in the accounts of the expedition of Villalobos, which agree that the distance was somewhere in the neighborhood of 1,500 leagues. The actual difference in longitude between Navidad and Cabo del Espiritu Santo, the northeast point of Samar, is about 130 degrees, or somewhat over 2,200 leagues at the rate of 17½ leagues to a degree of the arc of a great circle. The distance from San Francisco, or Point Conception, to the same cape is about 1,750 leagues.

No sooner had Urdaneta, Aguirre and Melchor de Legaspi reached Spain with the dispatches announcing the occupation of the Philippines, than the old problem whether these islands were in the domain of the King of Spain, or not, came to the fore. Two questions were presented to the following persons: Urdaneta and the cosmographers of His Majesty, Alonso de Santa Cruz, Pedro de Medina, Francisco Falero, Hieronimo de Chaves and Sancho de Gutierrez. The first was whether the Moluccas, the Philippines and Cebú belonged to Spain or Portugal under the agreement made between the two Crowns in 1494, and the second, whether they were included in the pawn which the Emperor had made to the King of Portugal in 1529. Each of them presented a written opinion, all of which are extant except that of Falero.[121] October 8, 1566, they all joined in making a brief written statement that the Philippines, the Moluccas and Cebú lay in the domains of the King of Spain, but were included in the pawn.[122]

Santa Cruz discussed at great length the various distances to the Philippines from Navidad which had been reported by different pilots of the expeditions of Saavedra, Villalobos and Legaspi, and came to the conclusion that 1,900 leagues was the correct one, or roughly, 109 degrees. Deducting 6 degrees to arrive at the distance measured on the Equator, made the net amount 103. As he said that the distance from Navidad to the line of demarcation was 66½ degrees, Cebú was only 170½ degrees west of the line. Medina calculated that from the line of demarcation to Cebú was 168 degrees based on a distance from Navidad to Cebú of 100 degrees. Chaves estimated the distance to be 115½ degrees, based on his conclusion that it was 2,000 leagues less, a correction of some seven leagues. As he said the distance from the line of demarcation to Navidad was 66 degrees, Cebú was 181½ degrees west of the line and therefore lay in the territory of the King of Portugal. He declared, however, that he did not believe that the distance from Navidad to Cebú was 2,000 leagues, but preferred to credit Ptolemy and the Portuguese accounts which proved that the Philippines and the Moluccas belonged to the King of Spain. Gutierrez made the distance from Navidad to Cebú 1,700 leagues, or about 100 degrees. From the line of demarcation to Navidad was 65 degrees, he said, making a total of 165 from the line to Cebú, still less than Santa Cruz. He added that he preferred to credit the map of Villalobos, which had been brought to Spain by Pedro Melendez and showed the distance from Navidad to Cebú to be only 1,500 leagues.

We now come to the opinion of Urdaneta.[123] Unfortunately, this document has been so maltreated that in some places it is not possible to make it out. One thing is clear however, and that is that Fray Martin de Rada, whom Urdaneta declared to be a great mathematician, astrologer and cosmographer and a man of great common sense, had taken with him at Urdaneta's request a medium-sized instrument by which he could verify the longitude. Before Urdaneta left Cebú, Rada had determined by an observation of a star that the town was 218 degrees 15 minutes west of Toledo by the tables of Alfonso,[124] which Urdaneta had corrected to 218 degrees 15 minutes by the tables of Copernicus. As Urdaneta claimed that the line of demarcation was 43 degrees and 8 minutes west of Toledo, this left Cebú 172 degrees 7 minutes west of the line of demarcation; that island therefore fell 7 degrees 53 minutes inside the territory of the King of Spain and was subject to him. Being apparently somewhat doubtful of this result, he then entered into a long calculation based on Portuguese maps and accounts of the distance around by the Cape of Good Hope, from which he concluded that the line in the East ran through the Island of Borneo, just as Santa Cruz had thought. In no place did he discuss the distance from Navidad to Cebú or vice-versa, his single remark on the subject occurring in one of the lost lines.

Medina and Santa Cruz made supplementary statements, July 16, 1567, to the effect that although the Moluccas and the Philippines were all in the territory embraced in the pawn, yet they did not wish their opinions to be taken to mean that such islands had been included in it, as that was a juridical question about which they had no knowledge. From this it appears that the Council of the Indies still had the intention of circumventing in some technical way the agreement of 1529, being evidently satisfied that the Philippines were included in the dominions of the King of Spain under the division of 1494.[125] At any rate, Legaspi was there and stayed there.

APPENDIX E

Copy of a letter from Seville to Miguel Salvador of Valencia, which tells of the happy discovery which the Mexicans have accomplished, sailing with the fleet His Majesty ordered built in Mexico: with other marvelous things of great advantage to all Christendom worthy to be seen and read.

Of this affair of China there are two accounts, to the effect that November 17, 1564, by order of His Majesty, a fleet was built in the Puerto de Navidad in the South Sea a hundred leagues from Mexico, consisting of two ships and two *pataches,* to discover for our King the Spice Islands, called the Philippines. They cost more than 600,000 pesos of *tepuzque*[1] when ready to sail.

On that day they left the port and sailed together six days; on the seventh a storm struck them which separated from them the *patache* of fifty tons carrying twenty men. After sailing fifty days, land was seen, composed of many islands, among which there was one very large, and there she anchored. The people of the islands, much whiter than our Indians, assembled on the beach, the women being even lighter than the men. Not only the men but the women were dressed in affairs of woven palm leaves with colored silks worked in; for display they keep their teeth colored and bored, and in the holes there are some little pins of gold. The men wear breeches of cotton cloth, with silk garters with many pieces of gold. Among them was one who seemed to be of greater quality; he was dressed in silk, with a cutlass, the hilt and ornaments of which were of gold and precious stones. Our people asked them for some food which they gave in exchange for trifles. They asked, however, for iron, and it was given to them. When they saw nails they wanted nothing but nails, and these they paid for with gold-dust. They carry some very beautiful steel daggers, and appear to be civilized people and of much account. They use weights and measures. They gave our people deer, pigs, chickens, quail, rice, millet, and palm bread, all of which was in great abundance. The *patache* was there almost thirty days awaiting the other ships, but as they did not come, it was determined to return to Mexico. When they left the island, they fell in with a junk, which is a ship of almost a hundred tons burden, in which there were sixty Indians. When these saw the *patache* they all took to swimming and went to the shore, which was nearby. Some soldiers by order of the captain went aboard her and found that she was loaded with porcelain, cotton cloth, painted linens, and other things of the country, and some quills of ground gold, of which they took only one; besides, they took some porcelain and cotton cloth, and very little of the rest, merely some samples. The *patache* was 230 days on its journey out and back. They found it necessary to go up to more than 40° towards the north. From the port which they left to this island it was 1,700 leagues.[2]

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[1] A peso of *tepuzque* was one of eight *reales.* The expression was used in Mexico at that time to distinguish the peso, which was not then coined, from the one of account in common use, the *peso de oro* or *peso de minas.*

[2] The preceding was evidently from Arellano's account.

The other three ships found within fifty days many islands. They stopped at some of these and in each one many things happened of which the account is so long that it covers twenty sheets of paper. Finally they reached a large one named "Iubu,"[3] where they established amity with its king in the following manner: the king extracted some blood from his chest, and the captain did the same from his, then throwing the blood from both in a glass of wine, they divided it in half and each drank one-half of it. This, they say, creates an unbreakable friendship. With all this, however, they had some troubles and sacked a little place, finding in a poor house an infant Jesus, such as come from Flanders, with his veil and a globe in his hand, as fresh as if it had just been made. They wished to settle in that island, as it abounds greatly in all kinds of food. They commenced to make a fort, and built a church outside of it in which they placed the infant Jesus, and gave it the name of "Jesus."[4] The island they called "San Miguel" because they arrived there on the day of his apparition. From there to the Malucos where the spices are found it is 150 leagues, to China 200 and to Malacca 500. They found there some very fine cinnamon which the inhabitants of the islands had brought from the Malucos, also ginger, and very beautiful things made of silk. Of the three ships they sent the *Capitana* from there to Mexico, which she reached after the *patache,* and where they were preparing two others to be sent to their aid. There are many other large islands in that neighborhood, of the same character as this one. Among the others there is a country so rich in gold that they do not think it of any value, and that contains such a great quantity of cinnamon that they burn it in place of wood. It is inhabited by people so splendid that they equal those of Spain. There is a king there who has continually a thousand men for a guard, and is so much esteemed that none of the vassals sees his face except once a year. If they have to talk with him about any business, they do so through a *zebratana.*[5] When he allows them to see him once a year they present him with great riches. They are very excellent people; they make brocades and silks woven in many different ways, and hold gold and silver in so little value that this king gave three *barchillas*[6] of gold-dust for a breastplate of hawksbells. What gold is found there is in dust. When they returned they loaded these three ships in that island with such a quantity of gold that the king's fifth amounted to 1,200,000 ducats. The Moors sail about there with ships trading and exchanging things from their country for gold, cotton cloth,[7] spices, cloves and other articles. The fleet fell in with one of their ships and took it, although they defended themselves so that one of them was killed and more than twenty men were wounded. They had many things made of gold, cotton cloth, and other spices which they had obtained in trade.

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[3] An error for Zubu, the word in the text is not very clear.
[4] Afterwards the name of the town.
[5] Probably for *cebratana,* a long wooden pipe.
[6] A *barchilla* was about one-third of a *fanega.*
[7] *Sp., mantas.* It is possible that these were a kind of covering or shawl made of cotton which the Filipinos made before the conquest.

The islands are so numerous that they say they number 75,800. This island of Iubu where they made a settlement is where they killed Magellan.

They say the Portuguese, perhaps two years ago, came there with some caravels, calling themselves Spaniards and vassals of the king of Castile. They robbed and sacked many islands, and carried off many people as captives, so that our people might obtain a bad name among the inhabitants, as they saw that our fleet was being built in New Spain. So it was that when our people arrived, the natives thinking they were those people fled to the mountains with their jewels and property, and the general has seen himself hard put to pacify them and give them to understand what they are.[8] He certainly must be a sagacious man, because by the account it can be seen how much he has suffered in not getting in touch with the natives, and that he has treated them with much affection without doing any harm to anyone. This is a grand thing and of great importance, and the people in Mexico brag much about the discovery as they think that they will be the heart of the world. In the ship of advice which has now come here, they bring ginger, cinnamon, gold-dust, an arroba of shells very rich in gold, and white ones, gold jewelry, wax, and other things, as well as many trifles and many beautiful things to show what there is in that country. Even if they had not brought them, they would have done much in having discovered the navigation in those parts, a matter of great importance. With the *Flota* we shall know more; of what is found out I will advise your worship.[9]

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[8] *Sp., que son ellos.* The expression is somewhat ambiguous, but the *ellos* probably referred to the Portuguese.

[9] Translated from the facsimile of the original made by Antonio de Graiño in Madrid in 1905. W. E. Retana, who at one time owned the pamphlet, was of the opinion that it had been written by someone who came to Spain with Urdaneta. This is correct only in part, as the document contains internal evidence that it was made up in Seville from the accounts of both Arellano and Urdaneta. There are indications in one of Isla's memorials that other accounts of the expedition had also been published.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

Bibliographical Note

Numberless writers have had something to say about the voyage of Magellan, but the original documents from which they have gained their information are few in number. With the exception of a long account published in 1523 in Rome in the form of a letter written from Valladolid October 24, 1522, to the Cardinal of Salsburg by Maximilian of Transylvania, the secretary of Charles V, and another by Antonio Pigafetta, who accompanied the expedition, first published in Paris about 1525, the original documents dealing with the expedition are to be found in the archives in Seville, Lisbon, Paris or Madrid. The two principal accounts of the voyage are the *Derrotero* of Francisco Albo in 1-2-1/1 No. 5 and a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, purporting to have been written by Ginés de Mafra, entitled *Del descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes.* In the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, there is a letter of Antonio de Brito to the King of Portugal (1523), and in the same *legajo* as the *Derrotero* of Albo in Seville are the declarations made in Valladolid October 18, 1522, by Albo, Fernando de Bustamante, and Cano and those made August 2, 1527, by Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, Leon Pancaldo and Mafra. These documents with the exception of Mafra's work, which has only been published in 1921 by the Real Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid, were printed in 1837 by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete in Vol. IV of his *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV,* as appendixes to his account of the expedition. Gomez, Pancaldo, and Mafra were the only ones who had been on the *Trinidad* and knew anything of her voyage to the northeast. These together with others of collateral interest were reprinted by José Toribio Medina in Vols. 1 and 2 of a *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile,* Santiago, 1888, and in 1920 he published another small collection of documents, which he had discovered since 1888, in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Strait of Magellan. The only one which relates to the expedition itself is the translation of a very short and unimportant letter written by Cano to the Emperor after his return. The letter exists in the form of a copy in Italian in the Marciana Library in Venice and is contained in one addressed to the Doge, September 24, 1522, by his ambassador in Spain, Gaspare Contarini. Medina took the text from Vol. 1, Part 3, pp. 103-4 of the *Raccolta di documenti e studi de la R. Commissione Columbiana,* Rome, 1892.

Peter Martyr, in Decade 5, Book 7, first published in Alcalá in 1530, was the first Spanish historian to treat of the voyage. He was followed in 1552 by Gómara with a very short account in his *Historia de las Indias,* and in 1557 by Oviedo in *Libro* XX of his *Historia.* In 1601 Herrera published another and much longer history of the expedition in his *Historia, Dec.* II: *Lib.* II, *Cap.* XIX; *Lib.* III, *Caps.* IX-X; *Lib.* IX, *Caps.* X-XV; *Dec.* III: *Lib.* I, *Caps.* III-IV and IX-XI; *Lib.* III, *Caps.* II, IIII and XIIII; *Lib.* IV, *Caps.*

I-II. Herrera undoubtedly had access to many of the documents just cited, and also to some one or more accounts which are now lost.

In recent years interest in the voyage has revived, and several authoritative works have been published on the subject: P. Pablo Pastells' *Descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes,* Madrid, 1920, and his *Historia general de Filipinas* which is now appearing as a preliminary essay to a *Catálogo de documentos relativos a las Filipinas.* Three volumes of this work compiled by Pedro Torres Lanzas which bring the history to the close of 1595 have so far been published, Barcelona 1925-1928. The most ambitious performance was that of Segundo de Ispuzua, *La primera vuelta al Mundo.* The first volume appeared in Madrid in 1922 and the second in 1926. Most of the work is devoted to an examination of the geographical knowledge of the Spaniards previous to the time the enterprise was undertaken, Ispuzua not having been able to treat extensively of the expedition itself before his untimely death.

The documents in the archives concerning the voyage of Loaysa are much more numerous than those treating of Magellan's. The principal ones are reports of Hernando de la Torre, dated June 11, 1528, at Tidore, March 1, 1532, and one undated but written after August 15, 1534; a letter of Pedro de Montemayor to the King of Portugal (in the Torre do Tombo) dated January 14, 1533; the declaration of Juan de Mazuecos; the accounts of Andrés de Urdaneta and Macias del Poyo, September 4, 1536; that of Francisco de Paris, October 25, 1536; other declarations of Urdaneta and Poyo made about the same time and the long history of the expedition by Urdaneta, presented February 26, 1537. There is also an interesting letter from Hernando de Bustamante and Diego de Salinas dated May 3, 1529, in the Torre do Tombo. All the above except those in the Torre do Tombo are in 1-2-1/4 and are all printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion,* Vol. V. The principal secondary account is that contained in *Libro* XX of Oviedo's *Historia* first published in 1557 and reprinted in the edition of 1851-55 In *Cap.* XII of this book is the story of the *Santiago* related to him by Juan de Areyçega, and in *Cap.* XV, *et seq.,* a joint history by Urdaneta and Martin de Islares about their stay in the Moluccas, told to Oviedo when they stopped in Santo Domingo on their way to Guatemala in 1539. All later writers on the Philippines have much or little to say of the expedition.

All the documents relating to the Saavedra expedition known to the writer are in 1-2-1/10 in the archives in Seville, except an anonymous one in the library of the Escorial, probably written by the clerk Francisco Granado, but possibly by Saavedra himself. This and the account written by Vicente de Nápoles are the most important, and together with many of the others were printed by Navarrete in Vol. V of his *Coleccion.* Herrera treated the voyage at some length in his *Historia, Dec.* IV; *Lib.* I, *Cap.* VI; *Lib.* III, *Cap.* VI; and *Lib.* V, *Cap.* VI. The two attempts of Saavedra to return to New Spain are related in the last two chapters, taken in all probability from the anonymous account and that of Nápoles, although he may have had another source

as his account differs in some respects from theirs. Oviedo gives some particulars of both of Saavedra's attempts to return to New Spain in the general account he received from Urdaneta and Islares, *Lib.* XX, *Caps.* XXIX-XXXI.

The account of the Villalobos expedition given in this chapter has been drawn up largely from that written by Garcia de Escalante Alvarado, 1-1-1/23, R. 10, and printed in P. & C., V, 117, *et seq.* The writer has also used the letter written by Fray Gerónimo de Santiesteban from Cochin dated January 22, 1547, 1-1-1/20, No. 5, R. 12, printed in P. & C. XIV, 151, *et seq.* Still another *Relazione* exists, written by a man named Juan Gaytan (Gaetano in Italian), which was printed in Italian in 1550 in Ramusio's *Navigationi,* Vol. I. Some information about the expedition is contained in the *Tratado* of Antão Galvão, published in 1563 in Lisbon. Galvano, as he is usually called, was a Portuguese who, having been in command in the Moluccas, had been replaced by Jorje da Castro just before Villalobos reached there. He evidently obtained in India some information about the voyage, and especially about that of Torre, as he refers to some of the islands discovered by the latter under names which do not appear in the Spanish narratives. The references are to the London Hakluyt Society translation published in 1862. In 1615 Herrera in his *Historia, Dec.* VII, *Lib.* V, *Caps.* V-XIV, printed a full account of the expedition.

Beginning with this expedition the history of the Philippines is detailed at much length by the writers of the Augustinian Order as we first encounter friars of this Order with Villalobos. In 1624 Juan de Grijalva published in Mexico his *Crónica de la orden de N. P. S. Agustin en las provincias de la Nueva España.* Grijalva, although he used some of the documents in the government archives in Mexico, undoubtedly had at hand an original and detailed story written by one of his brother Augustinians who had accompanied the expedition, but as, like most friars, the author of this was chiefly interested in telling of his personal experiences and in relating miraculous events, Grijalva's account lacks definiteness and, worse still, dates. In 1698 Fray Gaspar de San Augustin published in Madrid his *Conquista de las Philipinas.* San Augustin used Grijalva's work freely, but was able to add some fresh material of interest although he wrote so much later. A chapter on the expedition will also be found in the work of Uncilla, another Augustinian writer, referred to later in this note, and a longer account of it appears in Pastells' *Historia.*

The original documents extant relating to the Legaspi expedition are very numerous. With few exceptions they are to be found in 1-1-1/23, 58-3-9, 59-4-3, and 60-2-16. The first file is one of those in the *Patronato* in which it was attempted to collect all the narratives dealing with it, and in fact everything, except correspondence of the viceroys and other individuals. The second file contains the correspondence of the viceroy, the third, letters of private individuals to the King from 1550-1570, and the fourth, letters examined in the Council from ecclesiastics.

In 1-1-1/23 are the memorials of Urdaneta of January 1, 1561; the ac-

counts of the outward voyage written by the pilots, Jayme Martinez Fortun and Diego Martin (jointly), Pierres Plun (in French), Esteban Rodriguez (2) and Rodrigo de Espinosa (both unsigned); by Captain Juan de la Isla, and the most interesting of all, a *Relacion circunstanciada* undoubtedly written by Captain Juan Maldonado de Berrocal. The accounts of the return voyage are three in number. No. 1, that of Arellano in the form of a certified copy made in Mexico, November 27, 1565, very likely the identical one which he himself presented to the Council on his arrival in Spain; it contains an account of the voyage out as well as the return and consists of thirty pages.

No. 2, a relation by Rodrigo de Espinosa in fifty-four leaves; this also includes the outward voyage. The part covering the return differs slightly from No. 3.

No. 3, *Derrotero de Esteban Rodriguez,* twenty-two quarto pages and two additional of the declarations made regarding the distances sailed. The first seven and one-quarter pages contain the account of Rodriguez, the last entry being September 14. Then follows immediately in the same handwriting the *Derrotero de Espinosa,* which like that of Rodriguez, begins with the day of sailing, June 1. Although signed "Espinosa" on page 22, the signature is not his nor is the document in his handwriting.

In addition to the above there is a very short account by Urdaneta of the return voyage translated in this chapter from *Urdaneta y la conquista de Philipinas.* This work was published in San Sebastian, 1907, by Fray Fermín de Uncilla y Arroitajáuregui, an Augustinian who claimed to have consulted in the library of Francisco de Zabálburu an unpublished *Relacion* of Urdaneta, believed to be still extant although not at present available.

After the arrival of Urdaneta and Arellano in Seville, someone made a brief extract from the accounts they brought which was printed in Barcelona by Pau Cortey in 1566: *Copia de una carta venida de Sevilla a Miguel Salvador de Valencia. La qual narra el venturoso descubrimiento que los Mexicanos han hecho, navegando con la armada que su Magestad mando hazer en Mexico. Con otras cosas maravillosas y de gran provecho para toda la Christiandad: son dignas de ser vistas y leydas.* This small pamphlet of two leaves only, which formerly belonged to W. E. Retana, was first reprinted with a translation in Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands,* Vol. II. A new translation will be found in the Appendix to this chapter.

Short accounts of the conquest with nothing of additional value will be found in the writings of the early chroniclers who treated of the Philippines: P. Pedro Chirino, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas,* Rome, 1604; Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas,* Mexico, 1609; Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas,* Madrid, 1609; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana,* Madrid, 1615; and P. Francisco Colin, *Labor evangélica de los obreros de la Compañia de Jesus en las Islas Filipinas,* Madrid, 1663. Retana in his edition of Morga's work, Madrid, 1909, and especially Pastells in his edition of that of Colin, Barcelona, 1904, have brought together

in their notes a vast amount of information regarding this and later periods from documents in the archives, many letters and documents being printed in full.

Many documents in the archives in Seville dealing with the expeditions of Villalobos and Legaspi were published in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Españolas de Ultramar, Segunda serie, Tomos* 2 and 3, Madrid, 1886-1887. The series is usually cited as *Documentos de Ultramar,* but in this work is referred to as *Col. docs.,* Second series. Translations of extracts of many of these documents were printed in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1803,* a collection of documents relating to the islands, edited by Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson, Cleveland, 1903. The collection is hereafter referred to as B. & R.

Cartographical Note

The results of the expeditions to the north, northeast and east of Gomez de Espinosa, Saavedra and Torre, coupled with those achieved by Cabrillo in his voyage, brought about in time a revision of the current ideas about the geography of the north Pacific. On one side, Cabrillo was supposed to have reached as far north as 44°, and Gomez de Espinosa, on the other, as far as 42°. The view held for a long time that America was joined to Asia in about 30° of latitude had largely crystallized in maps of Giacomo Gastaldi which appeared in 1546 and in an edition of Ptolemy in 1548. It was now clear that if Asia and America were connected the point of junction was considerably farther north than 30°, and that the Pacific was much wider on the fortieth parallel than hitherto supposed. Cabrillo's voyage had also pretty well demonstrated that the natives he had discovered on the northern coast must be widely separated from China, as they showed no indications whatever of contact with a civilized race.

In the last chapter four maps were presented to exemplify the progressive state of the knowledge of the geography of the northwest coast down to 1564. An inspection of that of Ortelius indicates that whoever drew the original from which this was taken had no greater knowledge of the discoveries in the north Pacific achieved by Villalobos than what could be made out from the *Relazione* of Gaytan. Nothing appears on it but names derived from this, from Magellan's discoveries, and one or two from those of Saavedra. Japan is shown just north of the thirtieth parallel of latitude, removed only about twenty degrees from the northwest coast. In 1570 Ortelius published another map, his first *Typus Orbis Terrarum,* on which more of Villalobos' names are to be found. The difference in longitude between Navidad and the Philippines has been increased to about eighty-five degrees, nearly the equivalent, at the rate of seventeen and one-half leagues to a degree of the arc of a great circle, of the 1,500 leagues estimated to have been run by Villalobos on his voyage between those places. This map shows Japan placed much farther west, but in much the same relative position as on the 1564 map, this being maintained by extending

both the coasts of America and Asia on the fortieth parallel some twenty degrees to the west. New Guinea now appears as a prominent object almost connected with a vast Antarctic land.

It is impossible to pass over in this connection the remarkable map, attributed to Juan Freire, which purports to show the discoveries of Villalobos on the south coast of China and easterly along the northwest coast of America. The map has unfortunately disappeared; only a sketch of it made by J. G. Kohl, now in the Library of Congress, remains. All this part down to the Isla de Cedros has a set of descriptive names. The map was copied much later by Fernando Vaz Dourado and has usually been thought to display the results of some exploration on that coast. There is no record or even hint in any Spanish document that any expedition had come back to New Spain from the Philippines or had gone there by that route before 1546, when Freire's map is supposed to have been made. The fact seems to be that the map portrays the discoveries of Ortiz de Retes. The Portuguese apparently believed that he had followed the coast of China and the maker of the map, who was a Portuguese, probably then living in Goa in India, connected his discoveries with those of Ulloa by an imaginary set of descriptive names, which he inserted in the gap between them. The map is a curiosity as an example of imaginary geography, but as a cartographical document it has no value.

Although Ortelius modified his type map of 1570 in many respects in later issues, he continued to maintain his first conception of the geography of the north Pacific. This conception was not his but that of Gerard Mercator, who in 1569 had published his large world map. The influence and reputation of these men were sufficient to impose their views on almost everybody except the Spaniards for a long time. Even the Spaniards finally accepted their ideas, or at least published maps displaying them. In this way the distance between Navidad and Acapulco and the Philippines continued to be accepted as being about 1,500 leagues until well into the seventeenth century, even after the cosmographers in Madrid had come to the conclusion that the distance was at least 100 degrees, or 1,750 leagues. The Portuguese alone continued to insist that the distance was still greater. If the idea advanced by the writer in his *Drake's Voyage* be accepted, that the so-called Peter Martyr map of Hakluyt of 1587 was taken from a Spanish map, it would seem that the Spaniards themselves considered the difference in longitude between Navidad and the Philippines to be only about seventy degrees, indicating that when the original was drawn, subsequent to the expedition of Villalobos, but before that of Legaspi, they did not accept even his estimate of the distance.

It is easy to explain the desire of the Spaniards to minimize this distance. Enough has been written in this chapter to demonstrate that their whole object was to maintain that the Philippines lay to the east of the line of demarcation in the Far East.

None of the charts on which Legaspi's pilots pricked the course is extant; presumably they were all sent to the *Casa de Contratacion,* where they shared

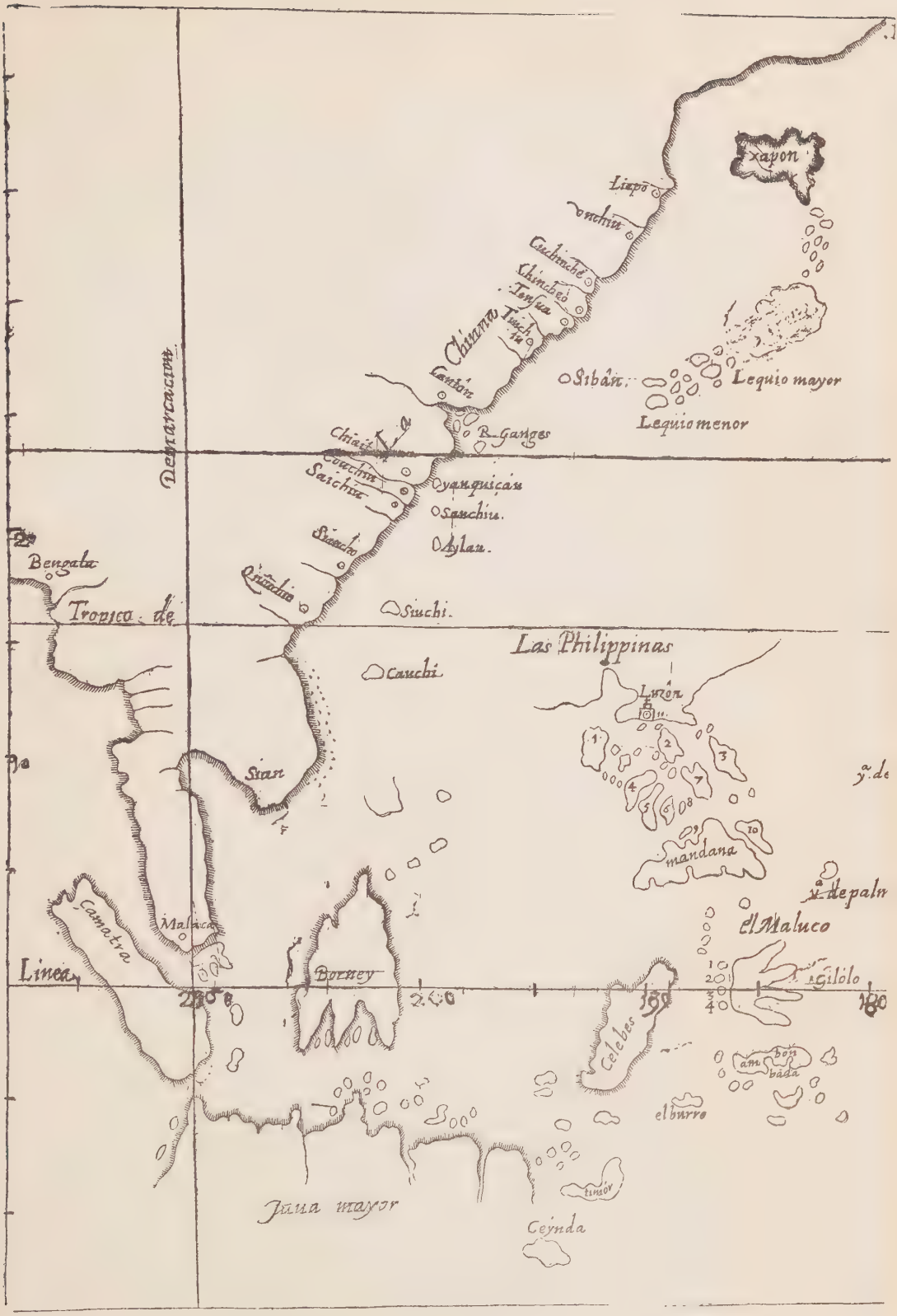
the fate of almost all maps of the early discoveries. The Archivo de Indias contains no chart of the north Pacific made in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, to the knowledge of the writer; the cartographical results of Legaspi's expedition must be sought elsewhere. Such charts, however, existed, as it is apparent that there were on the *San Pedro* at least four men pricking the course and two maps which differed from each other. These maps must have been based on the discoveries made by Villalobos and Cabrillo and could hardly have shown as great a distance to the northwest coast as Espinosa's estimate of 1,640 leagues. One result of the voyage certainly was to cause an increase in this distance to be displayed on Spanish maps, as well as an increase in the estimated difference in longitude between Navidad and the islands from about 85 degrees to nearly 107.

It has been usually asserted, and perhaps correctly, that the chart made by Urdaneta on the return voyage formed the basis for a long time of those in use on that route. None of these is now known to exist and when some made in the following century are inspected, they will be seen to show the influence of Vizcaino's discoveries in 1602-3. In spite of this lack of authentic Spanish charts of this period, maps published elsewhere can be found which show plainly that, in this respect at least, they were made up in part from such charts. In March, 1579, Francis Drake captured off the coast of Central America two Spanish pilots who were on their way to Panama to take Gonzalo Ronquillo to the Philippines and carried navigation charts and sailing directions. Whether these charts showed the return route or not is uncertain but there can be but little doubt that Drake obtained information regarding it from one of the pilots, Alonso Sanchez Colchero. In 1588 Thomas Cavendish captured, off Cabo San Lucas, the galleon *Santa Ana* returning from the Philippines, and the general opinion is that he found on that ship the sailing charts then in use by the Spaniards in the north Pacific. It thus happened that on the Molyneux globe, which was brought out in London in 1592, there are cartographical indications of the Legaspi expedition. On John Blagrave's map published in 1596 and copied from this, the following names appear: "Los Barbudos," "Quitasueño," "Miracomovas," "C. del S. Santo," "Luzon," "Manila," "Pirámide," and "Y. Desierta" (opposite three). The Miracomovas is from Arellano's account and the Pirámide also evidently refers to his tower, that is, "Lot's Wife." The other names, except Quitasueño, are evidently derived from the account of Legaspi's own voyage and later accounts; possibly the Y. Desierta is the island which Espinosa said looked like a ship at anchor. No island "Cazones" is shown. More convincing evidence of the derivation of the globe from a Spanish original lies, however, in the change in the distances. From Cebú to Cabo Nevado on the northwest coast the difference in longitude is about 75 degrees and from Cebú to Navidad about 110 degrees.

In 1592 Peter Plancius also produced a large map of the world in Amsterdam, which is generally supposed to have been copied in part from maps which had been brought there from Portugal by Bartolomeo Laso. On this map we

also see the Barbudos, Isla de Pajaros and Corales, referred to in the account of Legaspi's voyage, and the Miracomovas and Isla de los Nadadores, named by Arellano. North of the Ladrones is Una Coluna, an obvious reference to Arellano's tower-like island. None of the names just mentioned on these two maps had appeared on previous ones to the writer's knowledge except Corales, which was an old name given by Villalobos to the same islands as those so referred to by Legaspi. Even the famous Ortelius map of 1589, the *Maris Pacifici,* only shows the Corales. Herrera in his *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales,* published in 1601, mentions the Miracomovas and Quitasueño or Catanoduermas. Where these last two names came from is uncertain, although Dahlgren in his *Discovery* attributes them to Arellano.

The Ortelius map of 1570 and the Blagrave map of 1596 have been reproduced by the writer in his *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage.*



Herrera's Map of 1601 from th

DESCRIPCION DE LAS INDIAS DEL PONIENTE

14

scripcion de las Indias Occidentales

Notes

1. Galvano in his *Tratado,* 118; according to him Serrano was wrecked on Mindanao in 1512 and remained at Ternate for seven or eight years.

2. Magellan is supposed to have left a memorandum of the situation of various places when he sailed, from which this statement is extracted. It exists today as a preliminary to a memorial presented by Diego de Barbosa, Magellan's brother-in-law, probably in 1523 when another expedition to the Moluccas was being proposed. Printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion,* IV, No. XIX.

The movement of Magellan in the East received little attention from Portuguese writers, even those who wrote long after he had become famous. He is usually supposed by Spanish writers to have returned to Portugal in 1512. It is said that Serrano kept up some kind of a correspondence with his friend, Magellan, who had formed a plan with him to enter the service of the King of Spain and return to the Moluccas in order to take possession of them for that monarch. No documents, to the writer's knowledge, have ever been produced to substantiate this story. It was probably concocted by Magellan himself to support his efforts to induce the Spanish King to send him out to the islands by creating the impression that the Moluccas had not been occupied by the Portuguese, but only by his friend, Serrano. Both these men were in the military service of the King of Portugal, and it is simply impossible to believe that they could have formulated any such scheme in the Moluccas or Malacca.

3. Documents Nos. XVIII and LXXV, in Vol. II of Navarrete's *Coleccion;* translations in B. & R., Vol. I.

4. *Historia general de Filipinas,* printed in Torres Lanzas' *Catálogo,* I, page CCLIX.

5. It is probable that stories of the extraordinary cheapness of gold in the East had already reached Spain through Portuguese channels. When first discovered, an ounce of gold could be bought in China and the islands for from five to seven ounces of silver, and it was obtained in barter by the early visitors to the Philippines for very small quantities of iron. Although this condition did not last very long, yet the ratio between gold and silver in the East remained much lower than that in Europe for a long time.

6. The largest investors seem to have been the famous Fuggers of Augsburg.

7. Mafra, *Descubrimiento,* 210, states that Lorosa said that Serrano had recently died, "while awaiting the coming of Magellan to Maluco." In 1523 an *Informacion sobre la posesion de Maluco* was made in Lisbon at which the relations between the sultans and the Portuguese at Malacca were detailed at some length. About 1516 Alvaro del Coelho reached Ternate and took back goods and most of Serrano's Portuguese companions. Diogo Brandao, who left Malacca in 1520 and went as far as Banda where he found Meneses on his way back, was the principal witness. He said he took the goods of Meneses, who then went back a second time to Ternate and left Serrano still there when he returned to Malacca. Another witness, Jorge Botello, said Meneses brought Serrano back, but also that he died, the inference being that his death occurred about the time Meneses departed. The evidence showed continuous commercial relations but no act of possession, only an alleged voluntary submission of the Sultan to the Portuguese. (From an extract made for Muñoz from the original in the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. Rich Coll. in N. Y. Public Lib.)

8. Mafra, *Descubrimiento,* 211. Antonio de Brito, who captured the *Trinidad* when she returned, stated that she had reached 40° after having sailed 900 leagues. She departed with a crew of fifty-four and came back with only twenty-four. (Navarrete, *Coleccion,* IV, 306.) Herrera adds the information that at 20° they found an island of barbarians. In 42° they had a storm which lasted five days, which broke the main mast in two, destroyed most of the bow and poop castles and tore the greater part of their sails to shreds. On their return they stopped at another island some twenty leagues distant from the one which they found in 20°, and which had about forty inhabitants. Three men deserted here. It took them a month and a half to go from this island to the Moluccas, the distance being 300 leagues. *(Historia, Dec.* III, *Lib.* IV, *Cap.* II.) Galvano in his *Tratado,* page 149, states that they sailed towards the north to 36° where they found two islands.

9. Many of the documents regarding this negotiation, in 1-2-1/15, were printed by Navarrete in Vol. IV of his *Coleccion.* The most interesting is the *Proceso de propiedad* on page 360 *et seq.* At the end of this document on page 369 it is stated that the King of Tidore and those of other islands nearby swore obedience to the King of Castile, for whom solemn possession of the Moluccas was taken. The writer has never yet seen any *acta* of possession made in the Moluccas by the members of the Magellan expedition, and he does not believe that any exists, or ever existed. Navarrete printed, on page 295, an extract made by Juan Bautista Muñoz from a document in the archives (probably one dated November 9 to December 17, 1521, 1-45-7/7), showing that November 10 they made peace with the Sultan of Tidore, and exchanged presents. One can be very certain that these peace treaties, in which the sultans are said to have offered themselves to the King of Castile, were not understood by them in any such manner. These petty chieftains were

extremely independent, as the Spaniards found out in later years when they tried to take actual possession of these islands.

10. 1-2-1/1, No. 5, printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion,* IV, No. XXII.

11. This ship came to land from a long distance out in the Pacific, and the chaplain, Juan da Areyçaga, went up to Mexico and told his story to Cortés. (1-2-1/4, R. 19.) He afterwards related it again to Oviedo, who printed a long account of his voyage in his *Historia.*

12. 1-2-1/10, R., 1-10. There is a large file regarding this expedition.

13. The Granado account, Navarrete's *Coleccion,* V, 472. Nápoles in his account said June 3. *Ibid,* 484.

14. Herrera states they reached as high as 14°, beyond the Ladrones, at one of which they stopped on their return, *Historia, Dec.* IIII, *Lib.* III, *Cap.* VI.

15. This date of return is from a letter written by Hernando de Bustamante and Diego de Salinas, printed as No. XVI, of Navarrete's *Coleccion,* V.

16. The date of return is from Hernando de la Torre's letter, Navarrete's *Coleccion,* V, 356. Herrera states that when they were in 31°, they calculated they were 1,000 leagues from New Spain and 1,200 from the Moluccas. Nápoles also mentioned this voyage, *Ibid,* 485. He says they left May 3, 1528.

17. 1-1-2/24, No. 7, printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion,* IV, No. XLI.

18. Grijalva in his *Crónica* calls this man Antonio Corso, that is, the Corsican, but so far as known, there was no pilot named Antonio, consequently he must have meant Alonso, and the only Alonso who was a pilot was Alonso Fernandez, almost invariably referred to as "Tarifeño."

19. Documents in 139-1-3.

20. The provisions and instructions are printed in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II, Nos. 3-4.

21. The man was the Antonio or Alonso referred to in Note 18. Grijalva attributed all the evils that subsequently befell the expedition to the failure to follow his advice.

22. Torre, who had probably accompanied Alvarado to Guatemala from Spain, had come from there to Tehuantepec in 1539 under salary from Cortés, and in December was there expecting to command the ships Cortés had prepared to go to the assistance of Ulloa. 1-1-2/21, Part 9a.

23. This must be an error, as such a ship could hardly have sailed nearly sixty leagues a day.

This sketch is from Escalante Alvarado's report, P. & C., V, 143. Juan Gaytan in his *Relazione* alleged that he accompanied Torre on this voyage, and that after leaving the islands north of the Ladrones, which were in 24° and 25°, they went up to 24° 40′ (evidently an error in the text), from which they were obliged to go back to 25° and 23° where, at a distance of about 750 leagues from the islands, they found themselves without water and had to return, passing on the way the Ladrones in 15° or 16°. Gaytan either was a liar or else he appended his name to an account written by one of the pilots.

24. Escalante Alvarado's report, 153 *et seq.*

Gaytan, *Relazione,* in speaking of this voyage says they sailed nearly due east in sight of land for 650 leagues, to a point as far south as 7°, and after many hardships reached New Spain, and gave the news to the Viceroy. While this was not true, it is possible that he meant to say that one of Villalobos' lost ships returned to New Spain, as there are some indications that this was the case.

25. *Instruccion a Juan de Aguilar,* Smith's *Docs.,* 7. The instruction is not dated, but seems to have been written after much testimony in his *residencia* had been taken, and probably after the receipt of the cedula of November 9, 1545.

26. No doubt a reference to Sarragan where Villalobos remained some time and where the Portuguese paid him a visit.

27. This was true. He had given Villalobos a copy of the contract between the Emperor and Alvarado, in which this prohibition was fully set forth.

28. 1-1-1/23, R. 12.

29. *Docs. inéd. Esp.,* XXVI, 328.

30. *Ibid,* 331.

31. Velasco's letter and Mendoza's of November 12, 1550, relative to the same subject, in 58-3-8.

32. On receipt of the Emperor's letter from Innsbruck the Council of the Indies took the matter under consideration, decided to adopt his advice and wrote Velasco to that effect. 1-2-1/13, No. 7.

33. Up to this time the system had been to make contracts with private individuals, usually at their solicitation.

34. The Audiencia in Mexico was ordered, April 1, 1529, to pay Cortés what he had spent on the Molucca expedition, 1-2-1/10, R. 5 and 7.

35. 1-1-1/23, 12, printed as No. 10, in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II.

The occupation of the Philippines has always been asserted by writers of the Augustinian Order to have been their peculiar project. Many years after the conquest, one of them, San Augustin, claimed in his *Conquista de las Islas Philipinas* that the expedition was organized at the solicitation of Urdaneta, Santiesteban, and Garcia de Escalante Alvarado. The enterprise certainly bore somewhat of a religious aspect, if one can judge from the continued reference to the friars in the accounts of the expedition.

36. 59-4-3.

37. 1-1-1/23, 12, printed as No. 11 in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II.

38. 60-2-16.

39. On his way to Guatemala he stopped in Santo Domingo, where he was interviewed by Oviedo, who obtained from him a very interesting account of the Loaysa expedition, which he printed in his *Historia, Lib.* XX, *Cap.* 15.

40. Herrera states that the infantry force which left Mexico City on October 8 for the relief of Jalisco was commanded by Captain Urbaneta, *Historia, Dec.* VII, *Lib.* V, *Cap.* I. From Urdaneta's *Informacion* of his services he seems to have been this captain.

41. The above facts are taken from his letter to the King of May 28, 1560 (58-3-9), and an *Informacion* of services made in Mexico about 1550, an extract from which is printed in Icaza's *Dicc.,* 1361. In this he states that he had been born in Villafranca in Guipuzcoa, and was the son of Juan Ochoa Urdaneta and Gutierra de Zerayn. Uncilla's argument to prove that he was born in 1508 instead of 1498, as alleged by previous writers of the Augustinian Order, is entirely sound in the writer's judgment. Uncilla states that his mother's name was Gracia de Cerain, indicating a difference in her Christian name from that which Urdaneta himself gave in his *Informacion* in Mexico. It is to be said, however, that the name given by Icaza is possibly an error made in copying the original document.

42. 58-3-9, printed in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II, No. 12.

43. 58-3-9, *Ibid,* No. 13.

44. Translated from his opinion appended to his letter of May 28. It can be seen from this that Urdaneta's interpretation of the contract of 1529 was the same as that expressed by the writer.

45. It appears from this that Urdaneta's idea was that when Philip II found out how rich the islands were he would repay the 350,000 ducats due the King of Portugal, and obtain possession of them, as he evidently believed that they all lay to the east of the line of demarcation.

46. 1-1-1/23, No. 12, printed in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II, Nos. 15 and 16.

47. Urdaneta's letter of January 1, 1561, 60-2-16.

48. 1-1-1/23, printed in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II, No. 14.

49. 1-1-1/23, R. 15. The whole document is printed. *Ibid,* No. 17.

50. This island was identified by E. W. Dahlgren in his *Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands,* Uppsala, 1917, as Taongi, in 14° 45′ N., and 169° 15′ E. It was discovered by Toribio Alonso de Salazar, the commander of the Loaysa expedition, August 21, 1526, and evidently named August 24, the day of San Bartolomé. Urdaneta, who accompanied that expedition, was, of course, familiar with it.

51. Afterwards referred to in his memorial as Botaha. This was no doubt the island known today as Guam. It was located by the Loaysa expedition in 12°, and its name appears spelled in different ways on different maps, Bota, Botaa, and Bohan, but it was originally discovered by Magellan and the name came from the narrative of his expedition.

52. Urdaneta sometimes uses the expression "Isla Filipina," a name which had been given by one of Villalobos' men to the Isla de Leyte, or Tandaya. In spite of the general statement now current that it was applied to Leyte, the writer is firmly of the opinion that it was really given to Tandaya. It is frequently stated that the expression "Islas Filipinas" did not come into use until after the occupation by Legaspi, but that such was not the case can be seen in this memorial.

53. What the Spaniards knew about New Guinea was derived from the accounts of the expeditions of Saavedra and Villalobos, already described. Carrion, who accompanied the Villalobos expedition, said in his letter written just before September 1, 1564, that he had followed it 380 leagues down to 5° S. (No. 23 of *Col. docs.,* Second series, II). As a matter of fact, the island extends farther southeast to about 11°, and even at that time frequently appeared on the maps as part of the great Antarctic continent extending on south of the Strait of Magellan.

54. This statement indicates that someone had found out that by standing off from the coast some distance, the northwest winds which usually blow near that coast could be avoided.

55. Mystery seems to have been attractive to Urdaneta's mind, especially what Hubert Howe Bancroft denominated the "Northern Mystery." His object as expressed here was no doubt to interview the Indians on the Santa Barbara Channel to see if he could find out something more than Cabrillo had.

56. Although not so stated, Urdaneta evidently expected to go up above 41° to see what was beyond the farthest point of Cabrillo's discoveries.

57. This is plain proof that at that time Urdaneta expected the expedition to go directly to the Philippines, and the fact that he strongly urged leaving at a time which would make this course advisable, indicates that his two other routes were of less importance in his mind.

58. Carrion's letter of August, 1564. 2-5-1/18, No. 2, R. I., printed as No. 23 of *Col. docs.*, Second series, II.

59. Dated September 12, 1564. 1-1-1/23, No. 20, printed as No. 22 of *Col. docs.*, Second series, II.

60. 59-4-3. According to this very interesting letter, Carrion had built these ships at Navidad, an operation which had entailed such delay and so many hardships that Velasco had decided to move the shipyard to Tehuantepec as soon as the expedition sailed, in order to build two more ships to be ready to send to the islands. The Audiencia had, however, ordered the yard at Navidad to be dismantled. Most of the artisans employed at Navidad were negro slaves belonging to the King.

61. 1-1-1/23, printed as No. 21 of *Col. docs.*, Second series, II. The document of twenty-three pages contains sixty-seven numbered paragraphs. The oath of compliance of Legaspi is at the end.

62. From a document, of which the original is in 1-1-1/23, entitled *Relacion circunstanciada de los acontecimientos y suceso de viaje y jornada . . . de Lopez de Legaspi. Col. docs.*, Second Series, II, No. 27. By a process of elimination the writer has reached the conclusion that this unsigned document as well as another, which seems to be a continuation of it, was written by Juan Maldonado de Berrocal, Legaspi's captain of artillery. It is stated therein that when Legaspi opened his sealed instruction, he called a meeting of the captains, pilots, and friars and asked them what was to be done about it. In an order given at sea to the captains on the same day it is stated that the route, which had been to the southwest, was now to be changed according to the opinions of the captains and pilots to west a quarter southwest as far as 9°, and then west. 1-2-1/19, No. 4. *Ibid*, No. 26.

63. *Noticias históricas de Nueva España*, Madrid, 1878, 186.

64. Indeed, Grijalva in his *Crónica* claimed that Velasco always stuck to his orders.

65. Six were to go, but one died in Navidad just before sailing.

66. Then called Tandaya; the eastern coast where the expedition reached land was known as Ibabao.

67. These *actas* are in 1-1-1/23.

68. This interesting document was later presented in Spain by Legaspi's son, Melchor. 1-1-1/23, printed on page 258 of *Col. docs.*, Second series, III.

69. *Sp., Conviene que en qualquiera de los Navios que para aca imbiaredes venga el dicho Fray Andres de Urdaneta, y sera en el Navio y con el Capitan que el os señalare y pidiere, y en ello no haya otra cosa, porque dello se entiende que nuestro Señor Dios, y Su Magestad seran servidos.*

The words certainly seem to have the meaning attributed to them but, if so, the order was a very strange one. As a matter of fact, the friars selected the ship and Legaspi appointed his grandson, a young, inexperienced man, to command her, perhaps also at the request of Urdaneta, although that seems hardly likely.

70. Paragraph No. 60 translated from the original in 1-1-1/23.

71. Translated from Escalante Alvarado's account of the Villalobos expedition previously referred to. P. & C., V, 176.

72. In an undated memorial, but attributed to 1573 by Torres Lanzas in his *Catálogo*, where the document is located in 2-5-1/18, No. 1, R. 1.

73. This identification was made by E. W. Dahlgren in his *Discovery*, 38. It seems to have been the same island which later appeared on the maps as "Una Coluna."

74. This statement, in the writer's judgment, is sufficient to cast doubt upon the veracity of the narrative. It is true that on his voyage to the islands he did not need a map which extended as high as 40°, and it is always possible that care had been taken that he should not have one. In spite of this statement and others equally suspicious, the Spaniards seem to have accepted his account as a true one. Although he received no reward, the fact that some of the names he gave on his outward voyage appear on maps, which in that respect at least, must have been copied from Spanish maps, indicates that his discoveries were made use of by the cosmographers. Even if Arellano's account be accepted as substantially true, the fact here stated that he went up as high as 43° may well be doubted, The experiences of later navigators demonstrated that it was extremely difficult to get above 40°.

75. Arellano's remarks here are somewhat ambiguous. It might be concluded that he estimated the distance from "Pago Mayor" to New Spain on the 40th parallel to be 850 leagues. It is impossible to identify his "Pago Mayor"; possibly it was Japan.

76. This is another suspicious statement, as the northeast trades are not usually encountered at such a high latitude.

77. Translated from the original, 1-1-1/23; it differs slightly from the text, printed in *Col. docs.* The first page contains Arellano's appointment by Legaspi as captain of the *San Lucas* in Navidad November 19, 1564, and the instructions which were given him about the route to follow, dated November 25. From this it appears that the man who had been appointed to command the *San Lucas* had not turned up and Arellano was appointed in his place at the last minute. At the end is a sworn declaration of Arellano, Martin, Juan Yañez, the boatswain, and Juan de Bayona, a sailor, November 22, that the foregoing account was true.

78. His letter of March 31, 1575, to the president of the Council of the Indies, 58-6-14. San Augustin in his *Conquistas,* 133, states that Arellano went to the Philippines in 1577 with some letters of recommendation which availed him nothing on account of his bad record, and two years later returned to New Spain, where he died. There is some doubt, however, about this being the same Arellano.

79. *See* the reproduction in Chapter I. (*California Historical Society Quarterly,* Vol. III, No. 4, p. 381, December, 1924.)

80. In the annals of the conquest, the name of this island is almost invariably written Zubu, or Cubu; nowadays it is usually written Cebu or Cebú. As the latter usage is sanctioned by Philippine scholars, it appears likely that is the way the name is now pronounced.

81. Translated from Uncilla's *Urdaneta,* Note I, page 261.

82. That is, the second part of the *Derrotero* of Esteban Rodriguez, 1-1-1/23.

83. This island afterward appeared on some maps as "Parece Vela." *See* Dahlgren's *Discovery,* 39, and 75, Note 2. It seems to be now known as "Douglass Reef."

84. The pilots afterwards declared that the highest point reached was 39½°.

85. A plain reference to Cabrillo's Cabo de Fortunas. The Puerto (for Punta) de la Galera is mentioned on the 15th, both clear indications that his map showed Cabrillo's discoveries.

86. It is strange to find that different maps were in use on the ship. Urdaneta afterwards claimed he had a Portuguese map which he had obtained in Lisbon in 1538. Perhaps he was using this.

87. *Sp., Vi tierra por la Vanda de estribor porque ybamos amurados de la banda de a babor y luego mando caçar a popa,* that is to say, the sheets were tied on the port side.

88. Rodriguez in his statement also said they saw the island from the northwest. San Nicolas in 33° 15′ also has a rock, Begg Rock, to the northwest, but from the northwest, from which the island was first seen, the description of Deseada fits better San Miguel, which it almost certainly was, although the latitude of that island, 34° 10′, is 25 minutes higher than that calculated by Espinosa, a very unusual kind of error at this period. The rock was Richardson Rock, about fifty feet high and five and three-quarter miles northwest of San Miguel.

89. That is, he calculated he had run 30 minutes of latitude from 7 A. M. to midday. Perhaps the ship had actually sailed more, and thus Espinosa came to calculate the latitude of his island too low.

90. *Sp., ahumada,* that is, "covered with smoke." Perhaps Espinosa thought the fog was smoke.

91. This must have been the Coronados (that is, Cabrillo's Islas Desiertas in 34°).

92. There are several references in the log to the variation of the compass. July 12 and 25 and August 5 he notes that the compass varied to the northeast. August 20, in about 30° 40′, the needle pointed due north. September 14 the needle varied to the northeast two-thirds of a quarter, that is, 7½ degrees.

93. *Sp., gizola,* a very unusual word. In an early part of the log Espinosa had stated that the *gizola* was "where the needle is."

94. From the remarks in the next paragraph, it appears that the high land they sighted must have been Cedros itself, as the mountain on that island is higher than any on that part of the coast. The remark about the table-mountain to the northwest perhaps refers to the West Benito in 28° 18′, although the text is not perfectly clear, as it might possibly be construed to mean that the table-mountain was on the northwest side of the island which they saw.

95. This was a Bolaños name applied by Cabrillo to what is probably Punta Santo Domingo in 26° 19′, but he placed it between 27° and 27° 30′, thus accounting for Espinosa's error. The point the latter saw was no doubt Punta San Pablo in 27° 10′, error, 2 minutes.

96. In the text as printed in the *Col. docs.,* the editors did not put a period here, so that it appears that the country was all bare from the point in 27° 12′.

97. *Sp., cepas de lana,* probably a lichen common there from which a purple dye is extracted, called *orchilla.* The shrubs were no doubt cacti, also plentiful on that part of the coast.

98. It is very difficult to identify these three large rocks. There are two islands, San Roque and Asuncion, some eight miles apart, which could hardly be the ones mentioned by him, nor does it seem probable that he referred to the rocks called "Abreojos," as these seem

to have been too far away and the description does not fit them. On the whole, it seems probable that he referred to Asuncion and the rocks to the north and south of it which at that time may have been much larger than at present.

99. Probably Punta Asuncion. Espinosa seems to have been a little mixed here. It is not 13 leagues from Punta San Pablo to Punta Asuncion.

100. Cabo San Lázaro in 24° 48′, error, 3 minutes. Espinosa's observation, it will be seen, was remarkably accurate and gives us some assurance that those he made farther north were reasonably correct.

101. The *Guardas* are two stars in the constellation of Ursa Minor. A system had been worked out by which the position of the navigator could be ascertained by means of the direction which one of these stars, called the *Guarda Delantera,* the one in the mouth of the Bear, bore from the Pole Star. In the sixteenth century the Pole Star was supposed to be 3½ degrees from the Pole. If the *Guarda Delantera* was southwest of the Pole Star, then the Pole Star was supposed to be 3½ degrees above the Pole. Taking the altitude of the Pole Star, one could then easily deduce the altitude of the Pole, and hence the latitude. Martin Cortés in his *Breve Compendio dela Sphera,* Seville, 1551, fol. LXXXII, gives a description of the process, but says that at that time the *Guarda Delantera* was in reality 4 degrees 9 minutes from the Pole Star, and therefore the ordinary observations based on the customary assumption of 3½ degrees gave erroneous results.

102. Bahia Magdalena, the highland below being the Isla Margarita and the point at the end Punta Tosco, in 24° 14′. When Espinosa reached Punta Tosco, which Ulloa had named the "Punta de la Trinidad," in which he was followed by Cabrillo, he must have been satisfied that the latitudes assigned to that point on the maps he carried were incorrect. His subsequent remark about the port inside of that point and the lowland to the south thereof, shows plainly that he recognized it as the Punta de la Trinidad, inside of which was a bay Ulloa had named the "Laguna de Santa Catalina."

103. Cabo San Lucas actually in 22° 51′, error, 1½ minutes.

104. It seems strange that his map did not show the name Cabo San Lucas for this point, a name which had been given to it by Bolaños in 1541. His description of it is quite accurate.

105. Translated, together with the extracts, from the original in 1-1-1/23, printed in full in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II, No. 34.

106. It would be interesting to know how Espinosa arrived at this. He did not do so by adding to the figure attained when land was first sighted, 1,650 leagues, the distances run to Navidad, as these foot up more than that according to his log. It is certain that this was simply an estimate reduced to allow for what he thought the ship's course had varied from a direct one. September 15 he entered a statement that on his chart the distance from Cebú to Navidad measured 2,000 leagues.

107. When in later years returning ships from the Philippines encountered these they turned southeast.

108. Juan de la Isla in No. 5 of his memorials also called it "San Salvador."

109. Similar instructions had been issued to Villalobos when he left Mexico. In fact, there are many indications that his formed the model for those issued to Legaspi.

110. The above account is extracted from a *testimonio* made on the demand of Gabriel Diez, 1-1-1/23. An extract from this is printed in the Introduction to Vol III of *Col. docs.,* Second series.

111. Letter of Lic. Vasco de Puga, December 10, 1565, 58-5-8.

112. Dated November 26, 1565, 60-2-16. The letter contains a short account of the voyage.

113. 60-2-16.

114. In an *Informacion* drawn up in Madrid, November 6, 1568, on the demand of Melchor de Legaspi, the witnesses agreed that he had arrived in Madrid in the month of April, 1565, in company with Urdaneta. There is an error in the year, as they certainly did not arrive until 1566, but no doubt the month is correctly given.

115. Printed in P. & C., XIII, 529, from which it was reprinted by Uncilla in his *Urdaneta,* 245.

116. These statements occur in the account of the voyage of the *San Gerónimo* written by Juan Martinez, 1-1-1/23, published in *Col. docs.,* Second series, III, No. 47.

117. Grijalva's *Crónica* was the earliest of these.

118. The Arellano family was one of the noblest and best connected in Spain. Both Cortés and his son, the second Marqués, had married into it, and it is not unlikely that Don Alonso was a relative of both the latter and his wife. The Marqués, in a letter of March 22, 1566, wrote that he had brought with him a cousin, Don Pedro de Arellano.

119. Espinosa's log (the addition).

120. *Ibid.*

121. Falero must have rendered an opinion as he joined with the others in the joint one.

122. These and the following details are extracted from the original documents, 1-2-2/16, No. 12. They should all be published, as they are of extraordinary interest, being written by the foremost Spanish cosmographers of the sixteenth century.

123. This was printed in the *Revista Agustiniana,* Nos. 3 and 4 of Vol. I, March and April, 1881. Another copy made by Urdaneta himself is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, among some papers which once belonged to his friend, Fray Alonso de Vera Cruz. It is also badly mutilated. Urdaneta's elaborate calculations of the distance by the way of the Cape of Good Hope were made, he said, from some Portuguese maps in his possession which he claimed to have obtained twenty-eight years before in Lisbon, from a man who had followed that course.

124. Fray Martin was a very accomplished man, and justified the encomiums of his friend Urdaneta. He lived many years after this, and his letters and memorials, of which there are a number extant in the archives, are usually marked by a display of great common sense. His observation, however, was very far off.

125. In 1579 a curious question arose about the location of Macao, which in the opinion of all the experts except Chaves, was in the territory of the King of Spain, but was actually in the possession of the Portuguese. It seems that the Bishop of Manila had issued some kind of statement in which he placed the distance from Navidad to the Philippines at 2,000 leagues. Juan Bautista Gesio wrote a paper on October 14 of that year, vigorously protesting against this, in the course of which he examined the question as to the location of Cebú, claiming that it was only 1,100 or 1,200 leagues distant from Navidad. 1-1-2/24.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Kit Carson The Happy Warrior of the Old West. By Stanley Vestal. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928. xii+297 pp., front. 8°.

Stanley Vestal, Professor of English in the University of Oklahoma and author of *Fandango,* a book of Western ballads, adds this "Biography" of Carson to a big arm-load that has appeared before. Why, it may be asked, should anything further have been desired? Let Professor Vestal answer in his own words:

> For nearly thirty years I have felt the need of an authentic portrait of Christopher Carson. Even as a small boy, I knew that something was wrong with the standard biographies, that something was surely missing. And as research mops up the corners and corrects the errors of the earlier accounts of his career, it is more and more clear that the legend needs rechecking.
>
> Kit's first biographers made him out a striking but unaccountable hero. They placed him in a spotlight which threw all the background of his age in shadow, representing him as at once blameless and colorless. The effect was to make the man incredible, and to leave the reader with a hunch that the evidence had been doctored. . . .
>
> Kit Carson has become a symbol of the American frontier; as Odysseus was of the Greek seafarings, and it is important that we understand and love the thing he represents, that Frontier which made these States a Nation. That is the motive behind this book.
>
> I am familiar with much of the country Kit ranged over, and with that Southwest which he made his life-long headquarters. I grew up among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians; the tribes with which he was most intimately associated, and from which he took his two Indian wives, and I think I have seldom missed an opportunity to talk with an old-timer who could tell me about the days and ways of America's heroic age.

So then, the author proceeds with his tale, an alluring, colorful mingling of strict fact and highly imaginative fancy. The facts come from Carson's own dictated narrative, the trapper's dialect and some of the stories from Ruxton's *Life in the Far West,* and the legends, from the traditions of present day Indians.

Professor Vestal places too much confidence in those Indian legends, even going so far as to give some of them precedence over Carson's own recollections. It is certainly significant that among the Southwest tribes Kit Carson is still remembered almost to the exclusion of all frontiersmen. This is so among the Navajo and Hopi, who call him "Red-shirt." But this very prominence has caused legends to cluster about his name that originated with other characters, and all sorts of things are attributed to him that probably happened to others.

I wonder how many men there are today in the Indian country — and perhaps elsewhere — who are less than sixty years old and who nevertheless claim to be his sons or his "adopted sons"!

Whatever is "new" in this book may be taken *cum grano salis,* whatever is old gains new flavor through skillful treatment.

Slaps at Peters are out of order. No biography of Carson should now be written without acknowledging a debt of gratitude to Peters. Peters has furnished the chief material for every subsequent biography of Carson, including this one by Professor Vestal.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

Crimes and Career of Tiburcio Vasquez the Bandit of San Benito County and Notorious Early California Outlaw, Compiled from newspaper accounts of the period . . . [to which is added **The History of Joaquin Murieta. By John R. Ridge]. Hollister: Evening Free Lance, "Copyright 1927 by M. F. Hoyle."** 84 pp., front. 8°.

Here, in a flaming red cover, is a pamphlet with a new account of Vasquez and a reprint of Ridge's rare account of Murieta. Issuing, as it does, from that old headquarters of California banditry — San Benito County — where the very names of these notorious outlaws were breathed in subdued whispers and where every glen and canyon is associated with their memory, it has more than a usual degree of local color.

The Vasquez account is loosely pieced together from various newspaper accounts and paragraphs — we wish the compiler had given us the exact sources. It includes many interesting details of this red-handed career. The portrait is the same as the one appearing in Sawyer's *Life of Vasquez.*

C. L. C.

A Journey to Lower Oregon and Upper California, 1848-49. By Reverend Samuel C. Damon. San Francisco: John J. Newbegin, 1927. 86 pp., illust. 8°.

This book needs no introduction. In its original form it is one of the choicest items of Californiana and was written by the Reverend Samuel C. Damon, who graduated from Amherst College with the class of 1836, who received his degree of Doctor of Divinity from his Alma Mater, and who was appointed Seamen's Chaplain at the port of Honolulu in 1842. There for the following forty-three years he cheered and cared for thousands of seamen passing through the port; it was thhere that he wrote and delivered hundreds of sermons of the Bethel Chapel, and there that he edited and published the *Seamen's Friend and Temperance Advocate,* the oldest newspaper west of the Rockies. In 1849 he discontinued the *Friend* long enough to visit Oregon and California. On his return from that early voyage he continued its publication and embodied in its columns an account of that trip. Until the publication of the present volume the only place where a narrative of the young clergyman's impressions of Oregon and California could be read was in the files of the *Friend* from September 1 to December 20, 1849. The present volume is enriched by a frontispiece of "Father Damon." The chapters of especial interest to Californians deal with San Francisco, Benicia, Stockton and the San Joaquin, Sutter's Fort and Kanaka Diggings — to say nothing of some forty-eight pages on "the Oregon."

This attractive volume, of which an edition of but two hundred and fifty was printed, was accounted one of the fifty best books of the year that is just passed. That alone speaks volumes for its printers, Edwin and Robert Grabhorn.

GEORGE D. LYMAN.

Langsdorff's Narrative of the Rezanov Voyage to Nueva California in 1806. An English Translation Revised, with the Teutonisms of the Original Hispaniolized, Russianized or Anglicized, by Thomas C. Russell. San Francisco, California. The Private Press of Thomas C. Russell. 1928. xiv+158 pp., map, facsimiles, portraits and 5 illustrations. 8°.

In Mr. Russell's previous reprint, *The Rezanov Voyage to Nueva California,* we were led to expect this volume. Mr. Russell says that it was while preparing this for his press and consulting *Rezanov's Report,* he decided to give that priority in a revised issue and bring out Langsdorff's story later. *Langsdorff's Narrative* was first published in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1812 and, translated into English, was published in London in 1814. The title page of each of these editions Mr. Russell has reproduced in facsimile in this volume, which he has further enriched by a map depicting the voyages and travels of Langsdorff, portraits of Rezanov and Langsdorff, illustrations of Indian dances and handiwork, an early picture of the Presidio of San Francisco and one of the Russian-American Fort at Sitka. The last-named is from a drawing made by Langsdorff himself. Both that and the one of the Presidio are from the German edition of the *Narrative,* but they were not reproduced in the English translation.

Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff was born in Rhine Hesse in 1774. He was educated as a naturalist as well as physician and surgeon and was graduated from the University of Göttingen. He had already travelled far and gained considerable fame when in 1803, at Copenhagen, he joined Rezanov in the Krusenstern expedition, to Brazil, the Marquesas and Hawaiian Islands and Nagasaki, later accompanying Rezanov as his physician to the Russian possessions in America, to Nueva California and back to Sitka, whence, tiring of the hard fare and discouraged by lack of progress in his natural history collections, with Rezanov's consent, he left for Europe by way of Kamchatka and the Okhotsk Sea. He spent the winter of 1806-7 in Kamchatka and the following spring sailed from Petropavlosk to Okhotsk, entering the harbor in June, 1807. It was there that he heard of the death of Rezanov, which occurred in March while on his way to St. Petersburg. Langsdorff stayed his steps at Krasnoyarsk where Rezanov died, and visited his tomb. No doubt he regretted the loss of his friend; perhaps he even felt a pang of remorse at his own desertion of him, leaving him as he did, a man in poor health, to undertake the long, perilous journey across the Siberian steppes without the physician who should have been bound by gratitude to accompany him. It was Rezanov's intervention which gave Langsdorff the opportunity to join the expedition of

which he was anxious to be a part. Whatever were Langsdorff's feelings, he could not foresee the possible immense consequences of Rezanov's untimely death. Rezanov's failure to reach St. Petersburg and return was one of those so-called Links of Chance, "if chance there be," which may win or lose a principality.

Langsdorff's Narrative holds more of interest than *Rezanov's Report.* The latter, written by a diplomat to his chief, is couched in a measure in the stilted language of diplomacy and relates only such facts as have a bearing on the business in hand: the obtaining of food stuffs for the starving Russian colonists in the north and possible future relations between the Russian and Spanish settlements. Langsdorff's story is written in a livelier style and embraces whatever came within the range of his observation. Having the eyes of a scientist, trained to notice, he overlooked little worth recording of the new country in which he found himself. His reports of the several Missions which he visited are minute and, withal, more favorable to the training and discipline of the Indians by the padres than those given by most travellers. One item worthy of note is that in everything not incompatible with their religious or industrial training the Indians were permitted to keep their old customs.

Langsdorff describes the buildings of the Missions and the rancherias of the Indians; the food on the padres' tables, the vegetables and fruit they raised; the food of the Indians, their appearance, their occupations and pastimes; the character of the padres, the home life of the Argüellos and their hospitality; the social intercourse of the Californians, their modes of travel, their amusements, their good health and large families, their houses, furniture, dress and table. Even the beautiful Concepción Argüello is pictured with greater particularity than by the pen of Rezanov, her avowed lover.

These two late reprints of Mr. Russell's are books which should not be separated. They complement each other and with Mr. Russell's notes, and the copious index of *Langsdorff's Narrative,* are valuable to all students of California history as well as full of interest to lay readers. The present volume is beautiful in typography, paper and binding. It is dedicated to Mr. T. C. Van Ness, Jr.

HELEN THROOP PRATT.

Around the Horn in '49, the Journal of the Hartford Union Mining and Trading Company, December, 1848, to September, 1849. San Francisco, privately printed by the Book Club of California, 1928. Small 8°, frontispiece, (10)+127 pp.

In this small but delightfully presented volume the Book Club of California again fittingly turns to a field eminently suited to its attention — the reprinting of rare and unobtainable items of early Californiana. As printed by Edwin and Robert Grabhorn, this work closely follows the format and appearance of the original edition, which was printed on board the barque *Henry Lee* en route from Hartford, Connecticut, to San Francisco, between February 17 and September 13, 1849.

To the efforts of a young printer, John Linville Hall, of Bloomfield, Connecticut, we are indebted for this delightful day by day account of the long, seven-month voyage. Hall's print shop was installed in a stateroom between decks, lighted only by a thick glass window mortised in the planks of the deck, and while the difficulties involved in the undertaking of the youthful publisher can scarcely be imagined by one who has not actually used a composing stick, his energy and courage during the vicissitudes of the tedious voyage can be admired by all. Hall also wrote the text; and his description of the Inaugural Ball of March fifth, commemorating the induction of Zachary Taylor to the Presidency, and of the enthusiastic celebration of Independence Day on board the *Henry Lee* bear witness to the author's capacity as a writer. He later turned from mining to the call of the ministry, where his abilities found fitting employment.

An admirable introduction by Oscar Lewis accompanies this reprint, and a portion of one of the charming colored lithographs from Frank Maryatt's *Mountains and Molehills* is reproduced as a frontispiece.

CARL I. WHEAT.

The Wolf Cub, The Great Adventure of Count Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon in California and Sonora, 1850-1854. Translated from the French of Maurice Soulié by Farrell Symons. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1927. 281 pp., illust. 8°.

This work was first published by Payot of Paris under the title, "La Grande Aventure, L'Epopée du Comte de Raousset-Boulbon au Mexique (1850-1854)." It constitutes, both in its original and in its translated form, a prime example of how not to write a book which is to be foisted upon an unsuspecting public as "history," or even as "historical biography."

Upon the character and life of Raousset-Boulbon himself no new light is shed in this volume, the story being lifted almost entirely from the lives of the filibusterer written by his friends Henry de La Madelène and A. de La Chapelle which appeared in France shortly after his execution. Upon the geography and ethnology of the Pacific Coast, however, this author discloses a masterful scholarship. Says he, "In the savannahs and forests at the foot of the Coast Range and the Sierra Nevadas roved the Sioux and Cherokee," while "a tribe of Blackfoot Indians" frequented the glade where the American united with the Sacramento "twenty miles" from the latter's mouth. Sutter understood the Blackfoot language a little, and therefore went unharmed, since "he knew them to be inoffensive if they were not drunk or had not seen blood."

De Pindray, co-adventurer with Boulbon, came to America in the early 'forties and wandered for two years in Massachusetts, "leading the hard life of a trapper" — (in Boston?). Later we find him in Oregon "hunting the bison with a tribe of Cherokees."

At the time of the American conquest of California (which our author

declares to have been accomplished under Generals "Fremont, Pike and Soakley"), Los Angeles was known as "The Queen of Cows," and from that point de Pindray once started back toward San Francisco hunting for the bandits "Joachim Murretta" and "Three Fingers," not concealing "the fact that he intended to take the Santa Fé trail, which passes through the cañons of the Colorado and shortens the route by several miles."

And so on *ad infinitum*. In the words of a recent author — "What *can* a man believe" in the face of such effusions?

A few more books such as this and that strange tale of "Sutter's Gold" by Cendrars, and French historical biographies will have to be placed on the *index librorum prohibitorum* of all good students of California history.

C. I. W.

The Discovery of Gold in California, by T. A. Rickard, in *University of California Chronicle,* April, 1928, pp. 141-69.

When this article was published the Associated Press flashed throughout the State the astounding news (!!!) that James W. Marshall was not, after all, the real discoverer of gold in Alta California. Indeed, from the newspaper blurbs one would have thought that this writer had at this late date made a discovery almost as important as the gold discovery itself. Had he desired to consult the numerous records of the Lopez discovery of gold in Placerito and San Feliciana cañons, however, he would have found much material dealing with the placers near Los Angeles which were worked for several years during the early forties. (*See,* among others, *Publications Southern California Historial Society,* III, i:10; III, iii:59; XII, ii:18.) Of this material he is evidently ignorant, since the sole "authority" which he mentions is the Castañares report of 1844. As a matter of fact, in connection with a remark about Jameson's discussion of the "California gold plain" in his *System of Mineralogy* of 1816, he might well have turned the pages back a bit farther and quoted from Dillon's *Travels through Spain* (London, 1782) wherein (at p. 77) the Royal Cabinet of Natural History in Madrid is declared then to have contained "a grain of gold of 22 carats," weighing sixteen marks, four ounces, four *ochavos,* Spanish weight, "found in California, and sent by the Viceroy of Mexico as a present worthy of his Majesty's acceptance."

For the rest, this article consists of a rather cursory retelling of the facts regarding the gold rush. It contains no new contribution to the well-known tale, nor evidence of research beyond the encyclopaedias and the standard histories. Leaning backward from the turgid over-citation of authorities found in the usual doctorial theses, this author cites none at all, although he quotes a few of the pessimistic outpourings of the economists of the period. At the close he urges that he receive "corrections or criticisms." Let it be so!

C. I. W.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

At the luncheon meeting of March 28, 1928, the speaker was Dean Frank H. Probert of the College of Mining, University of California, his subject being "Grains of Gold in the Stream Bed of Time."

The speaker dealt with the history of gold from the beginning of its use in the dawn of history, or perhaps in the shadows that preceded it, down through the ages. He indicated briefly its influence on the peoples of the world in their various stages of development and its relation to their economic and cultural development. Coming down to the period of the discovery of the New World, he showed what an impelling force it had been in the rapid exploration and quick colonization of the continent. The nations of the world that did not participate directly were stimulated to exploration and exploitation of other parts of the world's surface, and in consequence an order of individual action and initiative was introduced that created the civilization we call modern.

In more recent times the discoveries of gold in California and Australia called forth again the same spirit of hardihood and adventure. The lasting consequences of these movements are many. Out from them sprang directly the great impetus given to improved means of communication, and the scientific study of the complex problems of mechanics and metallurgy involved in mining. South Africa and Alaska again called the world to their gold fields and again the response was of new achievement in the mining industry, and with its results the world is still building empires in these last frontiers that a couple of generations ago were marked on our maps as "unexplored."

Over forty members and guests were present at the meeting.

The April luncheon meeting of the Society was held at the Hotel St. Francis on Tuesday, April 17, 1928. The speaker was Mme. Emelie Melville, her topic, "Memories of the Past."

After a brief reference to her childhood she described her voyage to San Francisco. Her first impressions were disappointing: from the Golden Gate which swung no ponderous panels to admit the steamer, to the sharp earthquake which she experienced while at the Occidental Hotel. But as she began her professional career and met the warm response that the San Francisco of the 'sixties gave to her favorites, the first impression faded and another grew up which brought Mme. Melville back after more than half a century of professional success, with its attendant wanderings, to settle in the town of her youthful triumphs. Many of the figures, prominent in their day, were brought before the audience for comment or for a touch of criticism; events and scenes were given a brief return to life as the speaker followed through the sequence of her experiences.

It is useless for the secretary to attempt, in these brief notes of the luncheon meetings, to describe or transcribe the talk. He has no capacity to condense the

comments or select from the incidents what would give to the absent member any conception of its flavor or sprightliness. Any transcription, even literal, would miss the charm of voice and manner and the inconsequent sequence of one reminiscence provoking another. Suffice it, that the members who did not attend, missed one of the notable meetings of the Society.

About sixty members and guests were present.

On Tuesday, May 22, 1928, the Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel. Mrs. Frederick H. Colburn, President of the San Francisco Branch, League of American Pen Women, addressed the meeting on "Peter Lassen and His Mountain." She chose to reverse the order of her title and described Mount Lassen in detail with its crags and craters before turning to the man whose name it bears. Reference was also made to the widespread evidences of volcanic activity in the northern part of California and its influence on the topography of that part of the State.

In speaking of Lassen, himself, Mrs. Colburn told of his coming in 1840 after wandering over the plains to Oregon. She sketched the life of the early pioneer with its daily adventures with wild Indians. He obtained a grant on Deer Creek in Tehama County and maintained an outpost of civilization in true frontier style until immigration caught up with him. Having lost some of his property, he sold the rest and went up into Indian Valley in Plumas County and thence over into the Honey Lake country in the county that bears his name, where he lived till the time of his death.

The speaker recounted the meager details that are known of this event. He was shot from ambush while on a journey toward Pyramid Lake. The shooting was laid to Indians by his white companion, but Mrs. Colburn was inclined to the belief that this was not true because of the friendly relations he had always maintained from the earliest days with his Indian neighbors in all localities.

The address was closed with an account of Lassen's bringing out the charter for the first Masonic lodge in California and a description of the marking of his grave by the order. Mrs. Colburn had taken part in this ceremony, having been the person to call to the attention of the Grand Lodge the fact that no stone recorded the fact or the place of interment of Peter Lassen.

Forty-five persons were present at the luncheon.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

NEW MEMBERS

Winfield Blake, San Francisco
H. S. Crocker Co., Inc., San Francisco
Ralph C. Lee, Hillsborough
Walter McGovern, San Francisco
Roy M. Pike, Vernalis
Philip Ashton Rollins, New York, N. Y.
*Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.

* Gift of Henry R. Wagner, Pasadena.